

# THE ANNALES OF

Scotland in some part continued  
from the time in which Holinshed left,

*being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill the yeare of our  
redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie  
called Thin.*



Socrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wiselie (as one in all his life wholie giuen to ferch and saie the truth in euerie thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our selues; and that which is commonlie receiued, imbraced, approoued, and vsed by all men. Now those things are most vsed which concerne publike affaires, and such publike affaires are most knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, so farre forth as it concerneth the thing doone, must needs be true that the same was so doone in that order, as it was openlie seene to be doone. Whereby might be concluded, that in chonicling and treating of publike affaires, we should speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: bicause we report things doone in the eies of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement.

For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glose things publiklie doone, as with a certeine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things doone in publike shew to be of other shapen than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saing, that they speake best that speake things receiued of all men, and that be common to the world: for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vsed of all men, be the best speech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbore to write; and for that cause also might most iustlie restraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publike affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same saing of Socrates, that he speaketh best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue those for foundest which time trieth to be most true, and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publiklie doone; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptable in writing publike affaires; considering that I am not sworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitched with promise of gaine or honour, nor inforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: sith the end of labor, of conuemplation of studie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the attaining of truth, and not that perpetuallie or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies sought by me to be auoided, being onlie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, bicause the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as saith Nehemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publiklie doone, and that they are publiklie doone that sort to anie action in the commonwealth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptable, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents doone in the common-wealth; bicause that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie doone, in that order (without ambages, gloses, or parcialities) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therfore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had bene sacrilege for me to haue gaine said. And therefore rather carelesse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (especiallie at the first in a matter of such importance) than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleasure make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curioulle carping at my barrennes in writing, bicause I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue had me to doo: I must desire thee to consider for the first that the Scots me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publiklie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publiklie seene to be doone of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I ( vnacquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my selfe ) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of such matters, and so more vnmeet to enter into the bosome of princes ( whose harts as Salomon saith are vnsearchable ) should for my vnadvisednesse seeme worthie the punishment of Prometheus, that stole the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, because the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be submitted to the censure of their subiects, nor to be written vntill the ashes of all those whome the things concerne were vtterlie consumed : thou must yet remember that men haue escaped punishment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of such like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in punishing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himselfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the soule, went not onelie free from punishment, but receiued eternall reward, as after shall appeare, how much more should Prometheus haue bene spared, that but onelie medled with the bodie ? Now it is manifest that in diuinitie and matters of the soule ( a thing that so far exceedeth the bodie as the sunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkenesse ) there be manie which haue leapt into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongst the sonnes of God in writing, and laieng abrode to the world ( as much as in them laie ) the vnsearchable works of the Almighty, whereof we cannot comprehend the least cause, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued punishment, but eternall reward both in bodie and soule ; as Enoch was translated to paradise ; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot ; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cause I saie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to expresse in the meanest degree of perfection, were not punished for meddling therein, and writing thereof ; much lesse ought I to be punished with Prometheus in meddling with the discourse of matters vpon the earth, and such as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and such other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue so rashlie descended, or taken so hard a prouince in hand, had not ( as before I said ) the commandement of such as I durst not gainsaie, interponed it selfe as a shield to receiue and beat backe the sharpe darts of enuious tongues. For which cause fith I was bound to him by desert, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cause whie ; I feared not ( though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiser sort, not to haue hazarded his credit ) to enter into this dangerous sea, being not so much furnished with hope to performe it well, as desirous to discharge the request of him, and to shew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which discourse I had rather good reader thou shouldst complaine of want of sufficiencie in me to performe so hard a thing : than that he should mislike of my goodwill in answering his desire. And should I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great counsellors and men priue of matters of estate ; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles ; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace ? Did the singularitie and amplexesse of Platos knowledge in philosophie feare Aristotle to write in the like argument ? Or hath Aristotle staied the pen of others ? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lyfias ? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, and Demosthenes ? Shall none write histories but Caesar, Liuius, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or such like ? Or shall none deliuer their trauell to the world because they cannot write in English as did sir Thomas Moore, sir John Cheeke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or John Lilie ? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their best, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that wherein they haue best trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the selfe same thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canst not doo either vpon the basenes of my stile, the disorder of the matter, or the barrennesse of supplieng of things requisite for the furnishing and maiestie of an historie, than to suppose and saie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample discourse for the matter, and a sweeter stile for the manner might haue bene had for the historie of Scotland, than that which I haue set downe. Wherefore if the best writers be subiect to these faults, that when they haue spent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet somewhat to be desired in them, as well as in me the meanest writer, I am content to beare all speedies, and desire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I should doo ; to excuse me by others, and not to condemne me with others ; to accept this in that sort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildnesse to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou shalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been consecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the first volume was dedicated ; I answer ( besides that I am to him an estranger, and not to beg vnderferued fauour of anie person, and that the first patrone of this Scottish historie is now in the low countries beyond the seas ) this is a thing by me so slenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue bestowed the same vpon those to whom I haue already consecrated my selfe, whatsoever I am, hauing long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to serue and offer it selfe to manie persons, considering that where is but one heart, there must needs be but one waie : and he that will bestowe one heart vpon manie persons, must diuide the same into manie portions, and so dismember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all ; or els he must go to the shambles to prouide manie sheepes hearts, to bestow vpon those manie to whom he will bind his manie seruices : for which causes I may neither choose a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium ( which may seeme to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat ) I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleus or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or deliuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue receiued intelligence thereof, but onelie culled forth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and chalenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this fand : that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willingly would : that I ought not to forbear to write because I cannot in stile and matter equall the best : that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things : that I haue purposed in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person : and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland ( being such as thou maist be content to read, and I am contented to write ) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox,

with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle, and so to the matter, after this  
long and tedious deteining of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.



# THE CONTINVANCE

## of the annales of Scotland, from

*the death of the regent Matthew earle of Leneaux.*

1572  
Lestus lib. 10.  
pag. 387.  
Buchan. lib. 20.



Colen.

The earle of  
Mar made  
regent of  
Scotland.

**T**he earle of Lene, aur staine and buried at Stearlinge (as the state of that same troublesome time wold so permit) the noble men which were there present of that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselves for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named thre, and those first by oth compelled to yeld to the voices of the nobilitie. The thre appointed by them were Gilspie Cambell earle of Argyle, James Dowglaste earle of Spourton, and John Areskine earle of Mar. But in the end, upon consultation which of these for most causes (both benecessall and honorable to the realme and king) were meetest to wield so troublesome and dangerous an office; in the end it was laid upon the shoulders of the last of the thre, to whome (they wholie inclining) gave full authoritie to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Areskine, having nothing more dære or desired to and of him, than the besieging and recoverie of the castell and towne of Edenbrough (out of the hands of the quenes faction) to the use of his master and pupill (wherby to the last calends of October he was appointed, with a sufficient armie by the last deceased regent his predecessor) he was now hindered therof by sudden (and unlooked for) turmoiles of the estates of the realme. Whereupon for that instant, the same was proroged to the ides of the said moneth of October. Which delaye was after occasion of great impediment for the recoverie therof, because it minished time, power, substance, and succor to the citizens and capitains, to mure and strengthen the castell and towne, when the sharpe winter, the long nights, the hard carriage for the wars, preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therefore (at the same time with the said turmoiles) occasioned departure from thense, without dispatch of that for which he came.

Certeine moneths after that the regent was gone from thense, there were some few and small excursions and skirmishes used amongst them, the victorie inclining to neither part. For the free sight & watch out of the castell of Edenbrough (towards

everie part of the countrie) so wrought, that the quenes faction should neither come to handstrokes, nor yet (being unprovided) should be intrapped with the deceits of their enemies: because by a priue token (given out of the highest towre of the castell) they were easilie warned to recoil and draw home ward in convenient time. All which notwithstanding, they once felt the smart of the enimie, when all the horse and footmen were come out of the towne to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction (having first laid an ambush in the vallie) did with the rest come before the castell, in hope to fraigne the towne garrison upon them out of the wals of their defense, which their expectation was not deceived. For the said Edenburgers made half out of the towne, to pursue the said part of the kings armie, which feined a spædie flight, to draw the other part further from defense of the castell. By means wherof, they of the towne did so egerlie pursue them to flie, that in the end they went so far after their enemies, that they drew nære the ensignes of the other ambush, now shewing themselves out of the vallie to rescue their fellows put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceived by the watch of the castell of Edenbrough, forthwith it gave the appointed signe, whereby those on the quenes part (before that they came nære to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recoil for their better safetie; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, because they knew they were in danger, and could not suspect from whence or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned therof by the said watch of the towre. In which recoil of the quenes part, the few horsemen which had before feined the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such halt on the backe of the footmen, that the footmen were enforced (with all the speed that might be) to flie unto the citie, the next waie that everie man could find for his best defense: at what time yet manie of them were wounded, and manie taken prisoners, as well capitains and gentlemen of armes, as others.

Whilist these things were thus nowlie performed, in that the towne of Edenbrough was with no more heat sought to be recovered, a miserable misfortune happened in an other part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countrie two families of great power and authoritie, both valiant and wise, both harboring deadlie fowd of long rated betwene them. These two were of the surnames of Gordon, and of Forbosse, whereof the first lived with great concord and amitie amongst themselves,

Skirmishes  
about Eden-  
brough.

An ambush  
laid by the  
kings faction.

The quenes  
part warned  
by the watch  
of Eden-  
brough castell.

They which  
laid in ambush  
pursue those  
that came  
forth to set  
upon the kings  
part.

A conflict be-  
tweene the  
Gordons and  
the Forbosses.

The Forboises disagree among themselves.

Arthur Forboise.

Adam Gordon disappointeth the union of the Forboises.

Arthur Forboise slain.

The Forboises put to flight.

The house, great bellied wife, and children of Alexander Forboise burnt.

The Forboises receive aid from the king.

selues, and by the kings sufferance had manie years governed the people adjoining vnto them, whereby they purchased both strength amongst the miselues, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Forboises were at wars one with another, daile impaired their owne strength by their owne slaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confusion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still remaine amongst these families, they did not in manie yeares before attempt anie open warres the one against the other; rather lining in secret emulation, than open enuie, because they had (in waie of some shew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families together. Among these Forboises there was one called Arthur (a man of singular wit, and of no lesse readie hand to performe his deuise) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vttermost, from the first time of these discords. This man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherein he must honor himselfe and his name, increase the substance of that part which followed him, & suppress the rage of the Gordons, first laboured to bring his familie to vnitie and mutuall loue, for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest strength. The which if he might compasse (as by anie possible meanes he would leaue no stone vnturned that might further it) he was then in so good safetie as he desired. For then was there not anie faction or familie in these parts whatsoeuer, whose wealth or strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he did feare.

For furtherance of which vniou, when date and place was appointed to assemble the Forboises together, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntley (deuising by all policie he might to hinder the same, and hauing priuite intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men vnto the same place (at the time appointed for the assemble of the Forboises) to breake off their vniou. And although there were two tropes of the Forboises, which presentlie appeared in their fight, yet before they could ioine their strengths, Adam Gordon speedilie set vpon the one armie (not reable to be succoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Forboise; who being the hope of all that race and now slain, his death did so amaze the other, that forthwith the rest were sone ouerthrowne, scattered, and fled each one as he might best shift for himselfe. In which unhappie conflict some persons of name were presentlie killed, and manie others taken and reserved for ransom. Whereupon the residue (feearing more crueltie should be vsed vpon the prisoners, loath to haue anie more of their race to be cut awaie, and giuing place to the time present) withdrew themselves from the fight, and neuer attempted anie thing afterward in the reuenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and wise suppression of reuenge grew not without iust cause, supposing that their aduersaries (if they were further vrged) would shew no more mercie to such as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of Alexander Forboise before time, which they burnt with his great bellied wife and the other of his children.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) hauing his house so spoiled, and himselfe hardlie escaping from his enemies hands, hastned to the court, from whence (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be released. For which cause there were appointed two hundred souldiers to such of the nobilitie as fauoured and followed that faction, with letters to the abloining nobilitie to associat themselves to the part of

the Forboises. These thus considered and come together to the rest of the Forboises, with certaine other families of their affinitie & neighbours, so aduanced the spirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himselfe sufficientlie senced against all the forces of his aduersaries. But as their number increased, so there wanted amongst them one person sufficient to inioy the place of a capteine, whome the rest might follow, with all the principals and heads of the families were almost yong men, and scarce one better than others in degre of calling. Wherefore the assemble being drawen into diuerse companies (for they were inforced to follow seuerall leaders) John Beth with five hundred hoisemen departed to his house not far from thence. Alexander Forboise with his residue and two hundred souldiers went to Aberdeen, to expell Adam Gordon from thence, and to repare his armie in the iourne.

Adam Gordon (not sleeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Forboises, and understanding the approach of his enimie so nere with so small companie) assembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to seeme the greater. Shortly after, in a field next adjoining to the towne, the two companies met, and a sharpe conflict was committed betwene them. In which the kings souldiers (appointed to the Forboises) desirous (more haistlie than wiselie) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gordons (than their shot of powder would continue) they went so far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defense or helpe of their companie) they were put to fearfull flight by the bolomen of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie, and continued the battell vntill night. At what time there were not manie of the vanquished slaine, but mostlie taken and reserved as prisoners, amongst which was the said Alexander Forboise taker, after that he had long and ballantlie defended himselfe against his enimies in the same conflict, to the perpetual glozie of that house.

After the suppression of the Forboises in the north parts, the quenes fauourers were highlie incouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore assembling their power out of diuerse parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the suppressing of Jedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countrie is vnwalled and vnensured, but onelie with the strength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares past had stronglie resisted the force of the quenes faction. Nere vnto this towne were neighbours Thomas Ear of Fernherst, and Walter Scot, both which besides their owne residue had ioined vnto them the people of the next countries, being Lidsdale, Culian, and Eskine, alwaies troubled with robberte and giuen to spoile, who at that time by the libertie of war frelie without restraint, did wander into further countries, to preie, spoile and catch what they could. Besides whom there were also in Leintot (aswell by the infection of these countries, as by the custome of spoiling in the wars, for these things were by vse made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of sin) great families defamed with such theft and rapines, and not these alone (with this poison had crept almost ouer all the land) but certeine of the next English pale (being allured with hope of preie, and supposing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined together; and (to make their number the greater, and their power the stronger) called from Edenborough one hundred and twentie harquebushers, chosen out of the chiefeest souldiers, to be assistant vnto them.

The inhabitants of Jedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and considering therevnto all this preparation

The Forboises follow seuerall leaders. John Beth departed. Alexander Forboise goeth to Aberdeen.

The Forboises overcome the townes of Aberden.

Jedworth defended from assault.

Thomas Ear. Walter Scot.

Buchan, li. 20.



paration tended) with speedie & fearefull messengers  
 signified vnto John Areskine earle of Mar & regent,  
 the present danger wherein they stood, craving some  
 succour of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them,  
 which forthwith was granted accordingly. Where  
 vpon Walter Ear of Stedford, being called before  
 the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid  
 granted vnto him, as a person who both for valure &  
 experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such  
 matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient  
 number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the  
 countries adioining, for that season assembled them-  
 selves in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie  
 with them at Jedworth. At what time also to strike  
 more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage  
 of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies  
 that William Ruthwine with a hundred shot and  
 certeine horsemen (whereof he brought part with him,  
 and part he gathered out of the marches adioining)  
 were at the same time comming to Wyburge with  
 the said Ruthwine. All which notwithstanding, the  
 quenes faction trusting to their owne strength con-  
 sisting in multitude (for they were in number three  
 thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw to-  
 wards the towne, to preuent the comming of such  
 succours as both were promised, looked for, and then  
 almost at hand. Which being by Ruthwine partlie  
 before suspected, he hastened the people with more  
 speed to follow them at the heeles, and by continuall  
 shot worried the taile of his aduersaries with often  
 assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Ear also ioined vnto him and to his  
 complices the towne men (readie to defend their  
 files, their goods, their wiues, and their children) toke  
 the direct waie towards his enemies, to the end the  
 better to suppress them and their united force. Which  
 when the aduerser part perceived, forthwith they reti-  
 red to places of more defense, lest they shuld incoun-  
 ter their enemies with doubtful battell, and least be-  
 ing set vpon before and behind, they might be sud-  
 denlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne  
 themselves, either to escape, or to preuent the approach-  
 ing enimie. At what time such as fought after spoile,  
 and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine,  
 being now by that means defrauded of their pzeie,  
 when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and  
 the kings part readie and stronglie come forth to  
 battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his  
 owne house, as it was nearest to the place where they  
 then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any oc-  
 casion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the  
 rest of such as were of the quenes faction (supposing  
 at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would  
 make vpon them) they also followed after the others,  
 raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with  
 the rest of their followers and companie of footmen,  
 hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the  
 sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow,  
 which would stae the following of the enimie.

But Ruthwine, iudging it best to bte the opportu-  
 nitie of time, did before daie to speedie lead his ar-  
 mie to Hawike, that he was within a mile of his  
 enemies, before they could by anie means be certi-  
 fied of his comming. Whose speedie and vnlooked for  
 approach did strike such extreme feare into the hearts  
 of those which possessed Hawike, that there was no  
 place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that e-  
 uerie one should thist for himselfe as well as hee  
 might. Wherevpon suddenlie bringing forth their  
 horses and footmen, and following the course of the  
 next riuer, they attempted to withdraw into places  
 of more safetie for themselves, and further from  
 their enemies. But the horsemen of Ruthwine spee-  
 die following at their heeles, so preuented their de-

uise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled ouer all  
 the countrie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Vpon which the footmen being thus left to the  
 spoile and pzeie of their enemies, did (for their more  
 safegard) hide themselves in a little wood adioining  
 to the said riuer. In which, being on euerie side beset  
 with the force of their aduersaries (fullie determined  
 to pzeie vpon them) they did in the end whole yeild  
 themselves with submission to their courtlesse. Where-  
 vpon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their  
 number was ouer great to be caried about from  
 place to place in that sharpe winter) they were vpon  
 their oth to returne and become true prisoners) suf-  
 fered harmelesse of bovie, and losselesse of furniture  
 to depart, some few being still retained in that place  
 as pledges for the others departed companie. But  
 when the time of their returne approached, Ruthwine  
 die, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, for  
 bad them to returne at their daie appointed, and  
 made them incurre the note of perurie. The rest of  
 the winter, and all the next spring was passed forth  
 with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings  
 and quenes factions, in which few lost their liues,  
 and of that few more on the quenes than kings part.  
 For the quenes fauourers, remaining in the moun-  
 teins next adioining to the citie, whilst they would  
 take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing  
 well, would (scarse entering into the danger of the  
 conflict) for the most part retire and lie into the citie  
 for more defense.

In the meane time, while these things were thus  
 ordered, there came manie ambassadors out of Eng-  
 land, to pacifie these discords growne to these great  
 extremities, betwene the king and the impetioned  
 quenes factions. But the same ambassage so well  
 meant by the quene of England, and reieded by the  
 seditious of Scotland, foisted not to that end which  
 was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required.  
 Wherefore these ambassadors returned home with-  
 out anie such dispatch as might answer their tra-  
 uels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vnitie of  
 that quarrellsome people: by reason that the French  
 men fauouring the cause of the banished quene, did  
 not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots,  
 for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres  
 for the destruction of their naturall subjects, and to  
 bring in their owne gouernement, who for the furthe-  
 rance thereof, did with great promises intertaine the  
 apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kindle and  
 mainteine the fire of continuall warre, vntill such  
 time as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and  
 brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the  
 better support whereof, the French king sent some  
 portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great, or  
 such as their necessitie required, seemed rather suffi-  
 cient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the  
 warres, than fullie to dispatch or defraie the charges  
 of the affaires therein; and that the rather, because  
 some part of that monie was ener deuoured by such  
 as had the cariage thereof.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a  
 few moneths, certeine light skirmishes to little pur-  
 pose betwene the aduerser parties. But the greater  
 companie, who could not satisfie their eagles minds  
 with little sies, abstained not from robbing and bur-  
 ning the countrie. For Adam Gordon, entering into  
 Angus, besieged the house of William Douglas  
 of Glenberuie: but after that long bessege, percei-  
 uing that the man whome he sought for, was not to  
 be found there, he cruellie destroyed all whatsoener  
 there was left, consuming it with fire and sword.  
 Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impression in-  
 to the hearts of those of Dundee, that they despairing  
 of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their  
 p. ij.

Ruthwine  
 causeth the  
 prisoners not  
 to returne at  
 their daie ap-  
 pointed.

Ambassadors  
 sent out of Eng-  
 land.

The French  
 king sendeth  
 monie into  
 Scotland.

Adam G.  
 don entereth  
 Angus, and  
 besiegeth the  
 house of wil-  
 liam Dou-  
 glas.

They of Dun-  
 dee craue  
 aid out of  
 Fife.

Walter Ear  
 sent to defend  
 Jedworth.

William  
 Ruthwine  
 with a power  
 comming to  
 Wyburge.

Walter Ear  
 ioined with  
 William  
 Ruthwine.

The quenes  
 faction lie at  
 Hawike.

Ruthwine  
 with his ar-  
 mie commeth  
 to Hawike.

The quenes  
 faction ouer-  
 throwne and  
 dispersed at  
 Hawike.

W.  
 H.  
 S.

W.  
 H.  
 S.

W.  
 H.  
 S.

W.  
 H.  
 S.

W.  
 H.  
 S.

W.  
 H.  
 S.

neighbours of fife unto their aid, sith they were next adjoining unto them, unto whom also Gordon was a persecuting enemie continuallie in all that possible he might, because they consauntlie and subiect like did in all dutie support the kings part.

Blacknesse  
betraied.

At which time Blacknesse being betraied to the Hamiltons by the keeper of that castell, did greatlie hinder the traffike and passage betwene Leith and Sterling. For which cause the regent as a person that heedfullie looked into the dangers of that time, and with wise foresight sought to prevent following evils, brake downe all the mils about Edinburgh, furnished all the noble mens houses and places of defense with garrisons nere unto the towne, and closed vp all passage to and from the citie. For now there was fresh skirmishing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed queene were taken prisoners, put to their ransom, compelled to abiure their faction, kept in continuall prison, or else presentlie slaine.

Edenburgh  
mills broken.

Prisoners  
taken both on  
the king and  
queens part.

These things thus depending, and the king and the deposed queenes faction contending still to support their parts, the matter did dailye more and more grow to great slaughters: which being well perceived by foreine nations (pitieing the present calamities, and seeking to provide to staie the following dissension of that countrie which was like to be at hand upon these ciuill and unnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore) the queene of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king also the confederat of Scotland, sent their ambassadozs into the realme, to see what qualification might be had in these troublesome and dangerous times of the kings minority; hoping either to set a final end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and staie that furie, that it should not at that present, or during the kings minoritye passe anye further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir William Dzurie knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the queene of England: and monsieur de Croque, who had also bene ambassadoz out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

The queene  
of England &  
the French  
king send am-  
bassadozs into  
Scotland.

These much about one time arraiuing in Scotland, and ioining togither concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt so effectuallye therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betwene the parties of the king and queenes faction, from that time which was about the first of August, to continue untill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclusion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarrels to be set downe by the queene of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambassadozs returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Dzurie and maister Randolph into England.

An abstinence  
of warre for  
a time.

Sir William  
Dzurie and  
maister Ran-  
dolph go into  
Scotland.

In October following died the earle of Sparre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering sickness (as some affirme) but Lesleus faith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *more repentina concidit* being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, situate foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erleldome succeeded John erle of Sparre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appeare. Which John Areskine earle of Sparre the regent did marrie Annable Sparrie daughter to the lard of Cullebarton, by whom he had issue this John, which succeeded him in the erleldome of Sparre (as is before said) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Dowglas the now earle of Angus: but she died without issue. Of which deceased Areskine earle of Sparre, Buchanan composed these verses commendatorie, expressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour

The death of  
the earle of  
Sparre.

of the said earle in this forme and maner following:

*Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,  
Pace grauem nulli, tempore utroque pium:  
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude carentem,  
Rebus in ambiguis suspitione fidem,  
Siquis ob has dotes, sensu iactata procelis,  
Figit in illius patria fessa pedem:  
Vera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laudes  
Qui pariter peter has vnus & alter erit:  
Illud & proprium est, longa quod in ordine vita  
Nil odium aut linor, quod reprehendit, habet.*

10

Upon the death of which earle Sparre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succeed in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Spozton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, and god seruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the same. After whose election, the two princes, the English queene, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vntile, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre before named continued, send their ambassadozs to the regent and states of Scotland. Which ambassadozs were maister Henrie Killigrew esquire for England, and monsieur de Meracke for France. But as monsieur de Meracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and upon the sea in his iourneie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could attaine to the shore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongst the Scots to performe his ambassage. Which being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come forth of England from that prince, whome religion, blood, affinitie, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolute themselves, that both the affection, as well of the young king, and of the imprisoned queene, should referre themselves to the queene of England, to make a final conclusion of all controuersies and troubles which were then amongst them.

Earle Spozton made re-  
gent.

Maister Hen-  
rie Killigrew  
sent into  
Scotland.

40

Whereupon the said Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwene all the lords of Scotland after this maner. In februarye following the new creation of this regent Spozton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Johns towne (by especiall edict therefore) the greatest part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Atholl, and others: who pitieing the miserie of their countrie, condescended that the queene of England should by hir ambassadoz, set a quiet end and order amongst them. Which the said Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordinglye, extending the same vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edinburgh: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, secretarie Adington, the lord Rastalrege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons metelie well inured therewithall, would not consent to anye peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the imprisoned queenes faction, which they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appeare.

60

But before this final agreement, as I haue bene credible informed, there was a parlement called at Edinburgh to begin the sixteenth of Ianuarie, in which were assembled the earle Spozton regent, the earles of Angus, Argyle, Glencarne, Castels,

An assemble  
at saint  
Johns towne.

1573  
A parlement  
at Edinbo-  
rough.

fels, Eglinton, Mountrose, and young Marhall, for the earle Marhall his father: the lords of Ruthven, Lindseie, Clames, Simple, Boid, Marwell, Heris, Craie, Disphant, Sinclair, Foxbois, Chart, Ochiltre, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the borowis of Edenborough, Striueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andzeus, Glasco, Lithgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemblie were chosen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, and Mountrose, the lords Ruthven, Lindseie, Boid, Simple, and Heris, with the bishops of saint Andzeus & Dkeneie, the abbats of Aberbozth, Dunfirmiling, Canbuskineth, and Newbottle, besides the prior of saint Marie le and Boztintake, which were also adioined unto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following.

The articles and acts of the parlement holden at Edenborough the  
25 of Ianuarie.

- 1 **T**he approbation and ratification of the regiment.
- 2 Annent the true and holie kirke, and deterring of the true ministers & members thereof.
- 3 That name of the aduersaries and enemies of Gods truth shall intioe the patrimonie of the kirke.
- 4 That like of the disobedients as shall be received to mercie and pardon, protest the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrees and execution of the counsell of Trent.
- 5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge yet baile during the kings minority.
- 6 Annent recovering of the ietwels, household stuffe, munition, and moveables, such as sometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highnesse use and behoofe.
- 7 A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the invaliditie of all things attempted in anie name, and vnder color of whatsoeuer other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.
- 8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhens maiestie of England, for the defense of foren invasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be dwelt into the same.
- 9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annent masse and gleibis.
- 10 Annent the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet bulls or prouision to benefices with antedats.
- 11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie counsell, made in the reigne of the quhene the kings mother, annent the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.
- 12 Annent execution against persons excommunicat.
- 13 Annent the reparation of parish kirks.
- 14 Annent proceeding in cause of diuorcie.
- 15 Annent the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.
- 16 A confirmation of the infesment of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glasco. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parlement, there was the same aduise given to the regent, touching the receiving to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and detaining of pursuite of the murder of the

kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought good to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.

During the time of which session of this parlement, manie occurrents deseruing remembrance happened after the said fiftenth of Ianuarie. For <sup>Shirminthes about Edenborough.</sup> Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castilians were put from falling out of the castell gate, where capteine Craford, and capteine Hume late with their hands to keepe them in. Notwithstanding all which, they within repaired unto a poerne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and set water at their pleasure: which being espied by their enemies, capteine Michaele and his band came from Dondishe to stop their passage thereto. Who within thre daies after such his approach, destroyed their well, and enforced them to keepe within the walls of the castell: at what time the regent advanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bulwark or spur of that castell to the west part: and from thence, to saint Cutberts kirke: so that with the water lieng on the south-westside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholie inuolced. During which siege, the sixteenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the forenamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourescore and seuen great shot upon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poore dog that was slaine before the doze of the regents house: although men, women, and children did daillie frequent and passe the streets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not more strange than this: that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Ianuarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) about six persons, and within the castell but thre, with as manie hurt betwene the tolbooth and the spur of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of thre traueses made ouerthwart the streets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at what time also the tolbooth and the church was fenced with a rampier forced of turkes, sagots, and other stuffe fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as safely assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietly and safely to the church to heare diuine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

During which dwings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the sute of the ambassadoys of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentieth of Februarie: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with the said ambassadoys for an accord to be had betwene the king and imprisoned quenes faction. Whereupon sir James Walsford came to the regents grace, obtained pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agrément. The earle of Argile was advanced to the honour of the chancelorship. And Alexander Areskine master of Marre was appointed to haue the keeping of the kings person vpon certeine conditions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure suerries, lords of the parlement, to be bound for him bodie and lands, hauing fixtene daies appointed vnto him to consider thereof, whether he would enter into so great a charge or no. And if in case he should refuse to accept the same, it was further resolved and concluded, that the earles of Glencarne and Buchanan,

An abstinence of war granted.  
Sir James Walsford submitted himselfe to the regent.  
Officers created.

Edenborough.

Edenborough.

Edenborough.

Edenborough.

James Hircaldie en-  
treth Eden-  
borough cas-  
tell.

1573

The taking  
of Edenbo-  
rough castell  
by the Eng-  
lish and the  
regent of  
Scotland.

quhar, the lord Glanes, and master Marshall should haue the keeping of the king quarter lie one after another. And if anie of the sours should hapen, during the time of his quarterlie gouernement, to be sicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindseie should be assistant to him in that gouernement, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, James Hircaldie arrived in the Blackenelle in a small pinnelle, and entred the castell of Edenborough, with such monie as he had prouided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castell of Edenborough to be reassaged and inuironed both by sea and land, and was the cause that capteine Buse fallieng forth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to prouide vittells, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithstanding all which, yet the others within the castell continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his companie, farre otherwise than was supposed that either they could or would doe.

Whereupon the regent of Scotland solicited the quene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots his cousine, thus grieuouly molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the quene of England sent a power of sixtene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castell, ouer whome sir William Durie knight and marshall of Berwicke was made generall, with such capteins as follow; which were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capteins, as Read, Parleie, Wood, Byckwell, Biskeman, Sam, Case, Carrewe, Errington prouost marshall, Asoll, Starleie capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne free will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carte, sir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord tresuro of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Belwaie, Dier, Tilneie, William Killegrew, a manie other gentlemen of good estimation did associat themselves with conuenient number to attend vpon them. These with their generall passed from Berwicke to Leith, where they met with maister Henrie Killegrew the quene of Englands ambassadoz, whose care, trauell, & furtherance at that time deserued no small commendation; and with the Scottish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to come with the English in the behalfe of the yong king against such as toke part with the deposed quene. Which Scottish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Morton regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kindred, and such as fauoured the yong king, distressed by the deposed quene, as was pretended. After the ioining of these two nations, they on the five and twentieth of Aprill marched towards Edenborough; and the same daie sir William Durie the generall summoned the castell of that towne in forme as followeth.

#### The summons giuen to the castell of Edenborough.

**S**ir William Hircaldie, sometimes of Orange knight, forsomuch as the quens maiestie my soueraigne ladie, vpon the earnest request of hir deere cousin the king of Scots your soueraigne lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all good meanes used to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not dutie harkened vnto, to the auerlie hinderance of the diuierfall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castell, meaning

(as it seemeth) to reserve the same for a receptacle of foren forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my soueraigns; and therefore necessarie to remove so perillous a danger to both the realmes. For which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the said castell to the said kings vse and behoofe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, icwels, household staffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoofe of the king your soueraigne and his regent in his name, immediately after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obey, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, counsell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your lines, &c. otherwise, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be pursued to the uttermost, and holden as enemies to hir maiestie, your owne soueraigne, and countrie. Given at Edenborough by me sir William Durie knight generall of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this five and twentieth daie of Aprill, in the yeate of Christ 1573.

This letter by the lord Orange capteine of the castell thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their blood, did utterly denie the surrender of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselves. Wherewith the English generall greatlye grieued, did incontinently redeliuer such answer to the said lord Orange as wrought an utter discontent and dislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie thereupon against the castell. After which enerie one hastening the cause of his comming, & ioining their force together, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie siege to the castell in foue severall places, where were foue severall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William Durie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carte, the fourth was called sir Henrie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thousand, wherof sixtene hundred were English, and the other foue hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie peeces of artillerie containing sir canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and sir sacres. Whilist the armie with out was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the capteine of the castell (to hinder their worke) liberallie saluted the pioners & other soldiers with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and vpon and about the walles thereof; wherby manie were hurt, some slaine, but moze hindered before the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerser part forgot not to requite the castilians, but moche after that the pioners and labozers had finished

shed the mounts. At what time they gaue vehement and sharpe assault to the castell, although that the extreame heat thereof began not untill the seauententh daie of Maie following. In which siege on the said seauententh daie of Maie, the castell was most roughlie assailed by thirtie shot of canon discharged against the same. At what time those peeces so well performed their parts against Dauids towre, that the force of the English canons was easie to be then and long after scene therein. Which assalt continued untill the one and twentieth daie of Maie following, on which daie the whole batterie began not againe as before against part, but wholie round about on ech side of the castell. For untill then Dauids towre was onelie the marke of the enemie: but after that daie they laid out their power in euerie place, offering and defending ech others soldiors, as well within the castell as within the mounts and trenches, in that sharpe conflict hurting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the English began to be so great, that they forthwith displaced the ordinance in the castell, and strooke one of their greatest peeces in the mouth: whereby the same was broken, and the castilians force somewhat abated.

After this, on the six and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Maie, there was a fresh assault given at seven of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defence or blockhouse before the said castell) which by the assailants was taken, & forthwith upon the entrance therein was the banner of the generall displayed and set up, to declare who possessed the same, to the great discomfort of them in the castell. For although before they had lost the vse of one of their great peeces, that their walles were battered, that some of their men were slaine, & that they had almost all their water taken from them: yet would they not yield, neither did arie what begin to despair of keeping the castell, or repelling the enemie; untill such time as the English had now gotten the possession of the Spurre.

Now, during the time that these gaue the assault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Englishmen and Scots, that had in charge to make shew of a fresh assault, at the west part of the castell; to the end that such as laied batterie to the Spurre, might with more ease to themselves, and lesse suspicion of the aduerser part, obtaine the said Spurre. But this last named band, ouer hastilie putting themselves in aduenture beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and diuen to the recoile, with the hurt and losse of thirtie persons, or thereabouts. All which notwithstanding, the castilians (perceiuing their chiefeest defense the Spurre to be lost, and not greatly reioicing of this small victorie ouer those which assailed them on the west side) did the same daie by a drumme demand parley: which they obtained with truce of peace from that daie, untill the eight and twentieth of Maie next following. For which cause the lord of Pittadrow was let downe by a rope from the castell, and after him the lord of Orange, capitaine of the said castell, with Robert Apelaine; all which came to haue conference with the generall sir William Duriel, & such other persons as were chosen to accompanie him about the same. In the end, upon much conference had betwene the Scottish lords and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentieth daie (in which the truce ended) delivered up into the hands of the said sir William Duriel, which he kept in his possession for a certaine time; during whose abode in the castell, he set up and spread his ensignes and banners upon sundrie parts of the wals of the same.

This done, the generall (after quiet possession had,

not determining to retaine it vnto his mistresse vse, sith he was onelie appointed by hir to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as took his part) did after (according to his commission) deliuer ouer the same castell to the vse of the young king of Scots; for which cause not meaning utterly to spoile the castell, he gaue but part of the spoile to the vse of the soldiors, leauing the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For before the surrender of the castell, it was agreed, that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obtained it by composition, that then they should wholie haue inioied the full spoile by the space of thre daies, the artillerie onelie excepted, which should be carried awaie by the English. But sith for these causes following, the same could not abide arie long siege, but must of necessitie yield it selfe, there was euerie part of the said spoile giuen vnto the soldiors upon the deliuerie of the same castell to sir William Duriel. The causes of which surrender were manie.

First, for that they were depriued of water, because the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell wals; & the other well without could not serue them, because there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was unknowne to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurre, out of which they were wont to haue a pint a daie for euerie soldior. The other causes of surrender were these.

Secondlie, diuerse persons were sicke, especiallie thorough drinke of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had bene poisoned by some of their enemies.

Thirddie, diuerse others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take arie rest, being so plied and dailie wearied with batterie.

Fiftlie, diuerse of the soldiors disuised in opinions.

Sixtlie, some were no soldiors at all.

Seauenthlie, that no aid was to be looked for by the waie of France.

The eight and chiefe cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengths round about, and the horsemen dailie and nightlie watching and riding, which held and took from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began. All these eight causes moued the said surrender of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixteenth daie of June following, the prisoners were deliuered by the said sir William Duriel, in the presence of sundrie Scots & Englishmen, vnto the regent; and that done, the same daie sir William Duriel departed with his power to Berwick. The names of the prisoners were these; sir William Kirkcaldie lord of Orange, and capitaine of the castell of Edenborough, the lord Hume, William Metellan, lord of Lethington secretarie, the lord of Pittadrow constable of the castell, the countesse of Argile, the ladie of Lethington and the ladie of Orange, with others. But yet the priuat soldiors & others of manner sort were suffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Edenborough wonne, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; insomuch as manie thought it took the name of the maiden castell, for that it had not bene wonne at any time before except by famine or practise. Which opinion being common is so much the faller, in that the common sort do embrace it, for that they iudlie incline to common fables. For this castell was not surnamed the maiden castell, because it was neuer taken



ken by force : but because the princes children were there nourished, as maie well appere by that which I shall set downe touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof ; of which there be diuerse opinions. For some will haue it to be built by Eboracus, of some called Eborac king of Britaines, called also in Britis Castle mynir Agnes, the castell of saint Agnes hill, after ward the castell of virgins. But Lesleus will haue it built long after the time of H. Lhoid, by the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares, for thus he writeth. *Christus Camulodunum primariam Pictorum urbem & Agnedam postea Eboracum ab Etho quondam rege dictam, cum puelorum castro, ubi regis & nobilium Pictorum filie dum nuptii darentur, seruari, & preceptis ad humanitatem & virtutem informari solebant, condidit.* A little before which, the said Lesleus writeth that Fergusius died Anno ante Christi in carnem aduentum 305, & that Hoc tempore Eboracum Britonum & Christus Camulodunum Pictorum imperium tenebant. Now this king Christinus that built Agneda, liued before Christ three hundred and five yeares by the Scots account, and Eborac or Eboranke liued nine hundred foure score & nine yeares before Christ : so that the Englishmen make this towne moze ancient than the Scots. But as Lesleus hath mistaken himselfe, following Boetius, to place Camulodunum in Scotland : so hath he appointed Eborac to be built by the Scots, being built by the Britaines. But true it might be that Eborac first builded it, & that being in the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares wasted and vtterlie decayed, the same was afresh erected by Christinus, and after repaired by Ethus. The castell of which towne, being sometime appointed for the bringing vp of the daughters of the noblemen of the Picts, untill they were marriageable, was for that cause (and not because it was neuer wome by force) called the maiden castell, as the said Lesleus affirmeth. But after, when christianitie came into Scotland, it was called (as I coniecture) Agneda, because it was the castell that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not before the coming of Christ so called Agneda, as hitherto it hath bene set downe, but not rightlie ; as I maie with reuerence speake vnder correction of such as by better authoritie can disproue that I saie.

But here let vs a little leaue the countrie soile of Scotland, and such things as were there then done ; and talke somewhat of the persons of that realme, who performed matter of valure in foreign countries. Whilist the towne of Leiden was stronglie besieged (in the moneth of June) and that the townefolmen (hauing a needfull and heedfull care) were altogether imployed about making of provision of all such things as were deemed necessarie for the defense of the same towne ; the principall part of the commandatoys armie arrived in Bommell quarters, Gexen, and Lowieskein. Howbeit the prince and the estates of the low countries made no great account thereof, by reason that Bommell (which was well furnished of all things necessarie for the wars) was vnder the custodie of capteine Banfoure, colonell of the Scottishmen, who had there attending on him the number of seauen Scottish ensignes. Which Scots desirous to performe some matter of valure, daily sallied out of the towne with some of the citizens and gentlemen Hollanders ; in which often issuing they ballantlie skirmished with the enimies. Whereby in the end amongst their sundrie conflicts there were manie warlike exploits performed by the Scots, which deserued not to be forgotten : as well for that they often repelled the enimies, and kept their strength together ; as for that they being few in number, aduentured (beyond the hope of good hap, by incounteriing with a greater troope of such as came

against them, than they were themselves) either to returne victors, or to lose their liues.

After which also the same Scots, continuing in those low countries, performed manie other matters of martiall exploits, which I will set downe in this place. For which I haue bene denied of some of the Scots (whom these annales chieselie concerne) such things as might supplie the default of sufficient matter of Scotland to furnish the same ; and for that I haue bene defrauded of the performance of promise made vnto me by manie others of that nation, who for dutie vnto that countrie ought, and for clearing some sinister opinion conceined against them of their actions in their owne countrie should haue sought to further me in these my labours : I must leaue things done in Scotland, and turne my pen to other places ; producing matter to helpe my barren discourse, which enforced therevnto both deliuer an action performed by the Scots in the same low countries ; where they which were then in seruice against the Spaniards, vnder the pale of the prince of Orange, did that which deserued not to be forgot.

These Scots therefore remaining in those countries, seruing vnder the conduct of their colonell surname Banfoure, did in Januarie set forth & meet with the Spaniards at a place called the Footbale, distant not much moze than a mile from Leige, where was a long and sharpe conflict betwene these two nations. In which by the successe of battell (for the most part yielding victorie vnto the stronger side) a great multitude of them were left dead in the place, and the rest driven to saue themselves by flight from their enimies : who yet felt not this overthrow so sweet and gainefull, but that they lost manie of their people before the Scots were put to the worst.

But leauing these Scots in the middle of the wars of these countries vnder the prince of Orange, we are to come to other matters following by succession of time, which hath deliuered to vs that Margaret the daughter & heire of Archibald Dornoglaile earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March in the yeare of our redemption 1577, beginning the yeare at the Annuntiation of the virgin. Which ladie being borne at Harbottell castell in England in the yeare of Christ 1515, was afterward brought vp in England ; and then being princiellie affianced in the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ 1536, to Thomas Howard youngest brother to the duke of Norfolk, she was that yeare committed prisoner to the tower ; but after set at libertie the last of October, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1537, & married to Spatheu Steward earle of Lennox by the consent of Henrie the eight king of England, in the yeare of our saluation 1544. After which, being tossed with both fortunes, sometime in aduersitie, & sometime in prosperitie, she was notwithstanding alwaies honorablie intertained in England, as both hir birth in respect of hir kinglie blood, and hir calling in respect of hir place, did worthilie deserue. In the end, to cut off all hir other aduersities, and to draw to things falling in mine owne knowledge, she was on the two and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1565 (vpon the marriage of hir sonne Henrie Steward lord Darneleie vnto Marie Steward queene of Scots) commanded by the queene of England first to keepe hir chamber in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where she remained untill the two and twentieth daie of June next ensuing ; and was then by sir Francis Knolles (one of the priue counsell and vicechamberleine to the queene of England) and by some other of the gard conueied to the towne of London by water ; in which place she remained prisoner untill that

Humphred, Lhoid, in breu. Brit. I. Stow.

Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 84.

Campeidius in Scotia laith ab Eboranco Britanno aus ab Heitho Picto Edinburgum deducere quid aliud est quam serid inep- uere?

I 576  
The Scots deny their furtherance to the writing of the annals of Scotland.

The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 4.

The Scots put to flight besides Leige

I 577

Some part of the life of Margaret Dornoglaile.

I 574  
The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 3.

The Scots repelled their enimies at Bommell.

I. Stow.

that his sonne the said Henrie Steward was mis-  
rablie and traitorouslie slaine by the earle Both-  
well and his complices (as some affirme, but how  
trulie I know not) upon the twentieth of Februarie  
one thousand five hundred thre score & six. In which  
peare, on the two and twentieth of the same moneth,  
the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the  
toize and set at libertie, who still remaining in En-  
gland did (as before is said) in the thre score & second  
peare of his age, and in the first peare of his widow-  
hood, surrender his soule to God, being most honora-  
bly buried & answerable to his calling in the great  
chapel of Westminster (built by Henrie the seventh  
king of England) among the kings of that realme  
in an inward chapel standing on the right & the  
south side of the said great chapel. The peare before  
whose death his sonne Charles Steward earle of  
Lennox (having before married Elisabeth the daugh-  
ter of sir William Candlish, by whom he had issue  
Arbella) did also depart this life. Over the bodies of  
both which persons, Thomas Fowler erector to the  
said ladie Margaret, did with the goods of the said  
ladie erect a costlie and statelie towe of rich stone  
and curious workmanship, with the picture of that  
ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might  
afford it, about which monument is grauen this me-  
morable epitaph declaring his nobilitie, as insueth.

At the head of the toome is set downe

*Memoria sacrum.*

*Margareta Dowglas, Matthei Stuarti Leninia comitis  
uxori, Henrici septimi Anglie regis ex filia nepti, potentis-  
sime regibus cognatione coniunctissima, Jacobi sexti regis auia,  
matrona sanctis moribus, et inuisa animi patientia, in-  
comparabili P.*

*Obijt Martij decimo Anno*

*Domini 1577.*

On the right side of which toome is  
this ingrauen.

*Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu  
Regibus ac proavis nobilitate suis:  
Inde Calidonijs australibus, inde Britannis  
Aedita principibus, principibusque parens:  
Qua mortis fuerant soluit latissima morti,  
Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to  
James the first now king. This Henrie was murder-  
ed at the age of one and twentie peares, Charles  
the yongest sonne was earle of Lennox father to the  
late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie  
peares, and is here intomed.

On the left side of the toome  
is this ingrauen.

This ladie had to his great grandfather king Ed-  
ward the fourth, to his grandfather king Henrie the  
seventh, to his uncle king Henrie the eight, to his co-  
sine germane king Edward the first, to his brother  
king James of Scotland the first, to his sonne king  
Henrie the first, to his grandchild king James the  
first; having to his great grandmother and grandmo-  
ther two quene both named Elisabeth, to his mo-  
ther Margaret quene of Scots, to his aunt Marie  
the french quene, to his consines germane Marie  
and Elisabeth quene of England, to his naece and  
daughter in law Marie quene of Scots.

At the foot of his toome is this written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countesse of  
Lennox, daughter and sole heire to Archibald Dow-  
glas earle of Angus, by Margaret quene of Scots  
his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie  
the seventh, which bare unto Mattheu earle of Len-  
nox his husband, foure sonnes and foure daughters.]

Which honourable toome, with these super-  
scriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished  
in the peare of our redemption 1578, being begun

and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Mar-  
garet. This ladie being (as before is shewed) coun-  
tesse of Lennox and Angus, it will not be amisse to  
declare in this place, what became of both the said  
earledoms, as well in his life, as after his death.  
Touching Angus, this ladie  
Margaret, upon the marriage of his son Henrie lord  
Darnley, which was solemnized the nine and twen-  
tith daie of Julie 1565, to Marie quene of Scots,  
did giue the said earledome with all the rights and  
members thereof unto the said quene Marie, to dis-  
pose as fell best unto his liking. Whereupon the said  
quene bestowed that honour and earledome upon  
Archibald Dowglas coufine to the said ladie Mar-  
garet: who being exiled, was here in England at  
the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennox, after  
the slaughter of Mattheu earle of Lennox (husband  
to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth  
of September, in the peare of our redemption 1571,  
but 1572 as hath Lesleus, was inuested in Charles  
James the first king of Scotland, heire in blood to  
the said Mattheu earle of Lennox, father to Henrie  
lord Darnley (that married the quene) father to the  
said James the first. Whereupon the yong king,  
mindfull of the advancement of his uncle Charles  
sonne to the said Margaret, did inuest the said Charles  
with the honour of the said earledome of Lennox,  
which Charles died in the life of his mother Mar-  
garet without heire male, by reason whereof the said  
earledome reuerter to the crowne.

But here leaving the title and succession of the  
earles of Lennox to another place following (sith I  
am entered into the discourse of such of the earles  
& countesses of Lennox as be dead) I thinke it better  
in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph  
of Mattheu earle of Lennox slaine at Sterling (as  
is before touched) in the peare of Christ 1571. For al-  
though the same matter would more aptlie haue  
bene placed before at the end of the historie of  
Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the begin-  
ning of my continuance of the annales of that  
countrie, when I mention the death of the said earle;  
yet sith the note of that epitaph came not unto my  
hands, untill I had thus farre proceeded in the histo-  
rie; and the same also at that time passed the print  
(whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I  
will here (having to god occasion therfore) intreating  
of the toome of his wife (whose charge also wanted  
not in erecting of this toome of his slaine husband,  
and so) that this doth also touch some part of his epi-  
taph) insert the same in this place after this maner,  
as it is written upon the statelie toome of the said  
Mattheu Lennox, and now standing in the chapel  
within Sterling castell, being as hereafter foloweth.

*The epitaph of Mattheu earle of Lennox.*

Lo here a prince and potentate,  
whose life to vnderstand,  
Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,  
though from his native land  
His enemies thrice did him out thring,  
he thrice returnd againe,  
Was lawfull tutor to the king,  
and regent did remaine:  
Where he with rigor rebels rackt,  
the right for to defend,  
Till enemies old through tyrants trackt,  
did worke his fatall end.  
Lo thus respects the death no wight,  
When God permits the time,  
Yet shall the vengeance on them light  
that wrought that curst crime.

Besides which also on the same toome are these  
herocall verses set downe, declaring his name, his  
descent, his marriage, his issue, his offices, and such o-  
ther

ther matters belonging vnto him, as followeth.

Behold herein interred is,  
Matthew of Lennox earle,  
Who long of late in Britaine soile,  
did liue a pearlesse pearle.  
And as he was of roiall bloud,  
by roiall progenie,  
From Stewards stocke of ancient time,  
princes of Albanie:  
His fortune was euen so to match,  
with passing vertuous wight,  
Whose race deriued from famous kings,  
of wide renowned might.  
His mother queene of Scotland was,  
and eldest daughter deare,  
Of Henrie seuenth English king,  
a princelie mirror cleare.  
Hir father earle of Angus was,  
the ladie Margaret hight,  
The onelie heire of Angus lands,  
and all his fathers right.  
Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,  
for both by grace diuine  
Are come of Northwales princes hault,  
which were of Troians line.  
And diuerse goodlie imps there were,  
that issued from them twaine:  
Charls James now king, and Charls the earle  
of them dooth still remaine,  
King Henrie father to this king,  
their first begotten sonne:  
Oh cruell fates! the which so soone,  
his vitall dired vnsponne,  
By whose deuise the grandfire came,  
lord regent in this land:  
And noble bare the regall sword  
of iustice in his hand,  
Whereby he did in tender age  
of the kings maiestie,  
This realme protect with fortitude,  
prudence and equitie.  
But now dame fame with flickering wings  
withouten anie let,  
Shall spread abroad this worthie man,  
and through the world him set.  
And tearing time shall not consume,  
nor weare the same awaie,  
But with the worthiest reckned be,  
vntill the latter daie.  
After which time, eternitie  
dooth triumph then by right:  
Where he with angels shall reioice,  
in Gods eternall fight.

Besides which English epitaph these verses were  
also composed by Buchanan vpon the same earle of  
Lennox, wherein is not onelie set downe (as before)  
the honourable birth of the man, but also some of the  
places of his education, with other things which  
right fortunatlie happened vnto him in this sort.

*Regis aui, regis pater, alto è sanguine regum  
(Imperio quoniam terra Britannia subest)  
Mattheus genuit Leuinia, Gallia fouit,  
Pulso Anglus thalamum rēq; decusq; dedit.  
Capti inuicta manu, famam virtute refelli,  
Arma armis vici, consilioq; dolo.  
Gratus in ingratos: patriam iustiq; pieq;  
Cum regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi.  
Chare nepos, spes vna domus, meliore senectam  
Attinge, asfuto, cetera dignus aui.*

Thus setting end to the lines & deaths of this Mat-  
thew Steward erle of Lennox, of Margaret Dow-  
glaile his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to  
their sumptuous sepulchres, we will come backe a-  
gaine to such others, either generall or speciall, acci-

dents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland,  
and which will touch the vniuersall gouernement, or  
the particular occurrents as well of Scottish as of o-  
ther foren affaires managed by them at home, or  
in other countries, therewithall ioining the discourse  
of such things as haue bene performed by other na-  
tions in that kingdome. Amongst which accidents in  
Scotland this rarelie happened, that the earle Mor-  
ton surrendered his protectoiship or regentship of  
the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I maie  
woorthilie count rare, sith men in so great authoritie  
of commanding all persons, can hardlie be brought  
to giue ouer such honour, and to yeld themselves to  
the commandement of others, because *Qui primatus  
sui auctoritatem perdit, in despectionem et angustiam se mit-  
tit: qui autem locum suum sapienter custodit, se ac suos ad pro-  
fectum dirigit.* And Was the philosopher knew, that it  
was a most hard thing of all other, and onelie fauou-  
ring of great magnanimitie and wisdom, *Fortiter  
ferre mutationes rerum in deterius.* But he being verie  
wise, feared not the alteration of his estate, but ra-  
ther desired to be rid thereof, considering the weigh-  
tinesse and danger which depended therevpon, and re-  
membryng that notable saleng of Gregorie in his  
Mozals, declaring the singular god of such, which do  
thun the gouernement of temporall things, in these  
wordes. *Quasi quodam iugo seruitutis premunt prospera, dum  
appetuntur; premunt aduersa dum formidantur. At si quis se-  
mel dominationem desideriorum temporalium a collo mentis  
excuserit, quadam iam etiam vi a libertate perficitur, et dum  
nullo desiderio felicitatis afficitur, nullo aduersitatis errore co-  
arctatur.*

This earle Morton (I saie) surrendered his of-  
fice (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in  
this yeare of our Lord one thousand siue hundred  
seuentie & seuen, at what time also Robert Bolles  
eliquier was then in Scotland for his maiestie of  
England. Vpon the remouing of which erle Morton  
there were no moze regents in that countrie, but  
the king toke vpon him to rule the realme by him-  
selfe & by such curators as he shuld appoint therfore.  
For the king now about the twelue yere of his age  
thought he might aswell take vpon him the gouerni-  
ment of the countrie by himselfe, and such as he ap-  
pointed at those yeares, as manie of his ancestors  
had done before in their yong yeares; notwithstanding  
the opinion of manie of the better sort of the  
presbiterie, which mainteine that he cannot absolute-  
lie rule, or perfectlie establish anie thing by the cu-  
stomes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of  
siue and twentie yeares. But we find in their olone  
hystories of Scotland, written euen by men of best  
iudgement, that James the second of that name  
king of Scots, did in the fourtenty yeare of his  
age, in the seuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the  
yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fortie  
and foure, put Alexander Leuinisone knight from  
his regentship, and toke vpon himselfe the absolute  
gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writ-  
teth Lesleus. *Gubernatoris cancellarijque concilio et iussu*

*factum est, vt omnium ordinum comitis Strueling indies  
diceretur. An. Dom. 440, mense Ianuarij, omnium assensu est  
constitutum, vt rex suum regnum iustrans, contentiones so-  
piat, causas decidat, concouersias dirimat, reliquaq; reipubli-  
ca negotia praeiens procuraret. Multi nobiles sese comites itine-  
ris adiungunt, qui in illius societatem se penitus immergentes,  
odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, persuadent regi, vt alio-  
rum seruituti se premi diutius non sinat: sed vt omni ingo-  
excoisso, ipse sibi reipublica gubernanda partes assumat. Is in-  
ueniunt quodam regnandi ardore incensus, illorum voces tan-  
quam Syrenum cantum in suas aures effluere liberalissime  
patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regium  
solum praeceptis irruit, ac vt publicis comitisq; salus praefect, om-  
nes ordines Strueli regum vocat, 4 Nouembrii 1444.*

*Gl. super ill ec-  
cles. 23 melius  
est vt filij.*

*The earle  
Morton sur-  
rendered his  
regentship.*

*The kings of  
Scotland  
take on them  
to rule the  
realme with-  
out procura-  
tors being  
with in age.*

*Lesleus li. 8.  
pag. 295.*

*\* This was  
Charles earle  
of Lennox bu-  
ried in the  
toun which  
his grandmo-  
ther the ladie  
Margaret  
Lennox before  
mentioned  
sought after  
after the death  
of this Mat-  
thew his  
grandfather.*

*\* James the  
sixt king  
of Scots.*

After

After which, about five peares following, the same James, to shew his absolute and sufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Christ 1449, in the nineteenth yeare of his age, and the twelthe yeare of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Courdon earle of Huntley, and George Leslie a baron earle of Rothesay. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but sixtē yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred four score & eight, administered the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleus. James the first the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, in the seuentē yeare of his age, & about the sixtē yeare of his gouernment, removed the earle of Angus from the regentship, and toke vpon himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now liuing king of Scots, did in like sort in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland appoint procurators to gouerne the realme, whilist she remained in France with the French king hir husband. But enough of this, sith Lesleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and also in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both parts, at what peares the kings of Scotland may assume to themselves the gouernment of the kingdome, after that they haue attained to the crowne in those yeares, which are ouer tender and unfit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe ouer the same, I thinke it not vnnēt in this place, sith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to set before a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England at the end of the gouernment of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minority or his insufficiencie of gouernement, or during his absence out of the realme.

Conanus.



Conanus was gouernour vnder Thierens about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seven: for Thierens renouncing the kingdome and fleeing to Rome, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thierens, was regent or gouernour, of whom writeth Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optime administraret, interrex a nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem substituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Iosina eius frater successit.

Cadallus.

Cadallus liuing about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seuentie and nine, did pursue Gillus (the bastard of Cuenus) having slaine the sonne of Cuenus, and usurping the crowne, of whom thus writeth Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 92. Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortissimo, qui interrex a regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in illum (which was Gillus) conspirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam assecuti, inita prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plectuntur.

Argadus earle of Argile.

Argadus earle of Argile, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and eight, was cast in prison for his euill life, was by the nobilitie chosen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus

holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe iustice of Scotland to him and his heires, which function at this daie the earles of Argile doe inioie by inheritance.

Donald, Colollan, Mor-dacke and Conrade were made gouernours of the kingdome, for thus writeth Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 198. Senectutis tandem radio illius (which was Ethine who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ, seven hundred thirtie and three) vires ita debilitatae sunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor sui regni regulos (in quibus praestans quaedam sed fucata virtutis species eluxit) delegit, quibus singulis singulas provincias decreuit: Donaldus Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Gallouidiam; & Conano Morauiam.

William Fraiser bishop of S. Andrewes, &c. after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred four score and three, who died without issue, the nobilitie (because it was not known to whome the kingdome did appertene, sith there were manie which claimed the same, as Balioll, Bruce, Hastings, and others) agreed amongst themselves, and chose six regents or gouernours of the same, vntill a king were fullie known and established: the names of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of saint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fife, John Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir John Cumine, and James high steward of Scotland, who had the disposition of the south parts.

Hugh Cressingham an Englishman was made gouernour of Scotland by Edward the first, who going into France about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had brought Scotland vnder his subiection, appointed the said Hugh (whom he had before made treasurer of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme in his absence, whilist he was buised in the wars of France. But not long after, this Cressingham was slaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and such Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set themselves at libertie from the subiection of the English) in the ides of September, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seven, at what time also Andrew Purrie was slaine, whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) administer and gouerne Scotland for the king.

William Wallace after manie worthy exploits done in the behalfe of his countrie against the English, was for the Scots chosen gouernour of the realme vnder John Balioll, when the king had forsaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched) did slea Cressingham the gouernour of Scotland vnder the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouernour, and was in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the first king of England, and absolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, drawn, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and five.

John Cumine, after that William Wallace had giuen ouer his office of gouernour, was chosen to be gouernour for the Scots, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties, which being known to Edward the first king of England, he sent an armie into the countrie, and destroyed it. Whereupon John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiser fellowe with him in the administration of the wars against

Donald, Colollan, Mor-dacke, & Conrade.

William Fraiser.

Hugh Cressingham.

Buchan. lib. 8.

William Wallace.

John Cumine.

Ag. j. the

the English, and discomfited the English in the yere of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and two. After which, king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Ddomare de Valence his deputie in Scotland.

Ddomare de  
Valence or  
Aimer de  
Valence.

Ddomare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, uncle to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe blood, was about the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and four, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the yere one thousand three hundred & two, took William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruce being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and six, at Deseu discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Ddomare de Valence, who after banished all those which anie waie took part with king Robert Bruce. But in the end Robert Bruce recovering himselfe & more aid, drove all the Englishmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas  
Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Arrreie, much about the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 yere of Robert Bruce, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruce being fallen into extreme sickness, whereby he could not wield the scepter to gouerne as the state of that countrie required, committed the administration of the realme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Douglas knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countries good about foure yeres, during the life of the said Robert Bruce, whose death happened in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when David his sonne came to the crowne, being but seven yeres old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minority and insufficiency of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betwene England and Scotland. Shortly after which the gouernor died of poison at Newcastle, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the second yere of king David, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two sons, John erle of Arrreie, and Thomas, both being persons worthy of such a father.

Patricke  
Dunbar.

Patricke Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this sort. After the death of erle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemble of parliament of the three estates of the realme, in which in the said yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and the second yere of the reigne of king David, these two, Patricke earle of March and David (whom Lesle calleth Donald) earle of Arrre were chosen gouernors of the realme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two was slaine sleeping in his bed at Duplin nere to the water of Erne, by such as followed and took part with Edward Balioll attaining the crowne, and expelling David from the kingdome.

Andrew  
Murreie.

Andrew Murreie, a man of great power, and of no lesse possession, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Arrre, and ioined

in that office with Patricke of Dunbar earle of March. Shortly after which this Andrew was taken prisoner at Rockbozough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After which he died of a vehement sickness, and was buried in Rose Parkie, in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Douglas, after the decease of Andrew Murreie, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murreie, whilst king Edward did besiege Berwik, who raising a power of men entred England, and caused the king to remoue his siege of Berwik. Afterwards this Douglas was slaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two (as some haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the yere of our Lord God one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, the nineteenth of Iulie.

Archibald  
Douglas.

David Cumine was made protector in this sort. When that Edward the third king of England, in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by sea; he afterwards hauing Edward Balioll the king of Scotland in his companie with 50000 men came by land to Glasco: but perceiving no resistance against him, retired with Balioll into England, and left David Cumine earle of Atholl gouernor in his come, to win such holds and strengths as were yet defended against him. Which David took on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Balioll king of Scots, seizing into his hands all the lands which pertained to Robert Stewart, so that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became stronger.

David Cumine.

Robert Stewart regent of Scotland possessed that place, at this time also when David Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balioll; for this writeth Lesleus li. 7. pa. 234. Verum ne patria gubernatoris imperio destituta, aduersariorum inuidijs pateret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam in se transtulit, quoad David ex Gallia rediret, ipse tunc regni gubernacula susceperat. By which words appeareth, that as David Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balioll gone into England, so this Robert Stewart took vpon him the regentship for king David Bruce fled into France: the which he the rather did, because he would incounter David Cumine which had spoiled him of all his liuings and patrimonie. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted sundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongst other things, to be free from paying of tribute of corne and graine. For this Stewart together with John Randolph earle of Arrreie, were by a counsell assembled at Cdenbozough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and four, or one thousand three hundred thirtie and five.

Robert Stewart.

John Randolph  
earle of  
Arrreie  
procurator.

Robert Stewart earle of Fife, second sonne to Robert Stewart the first king of Scotland (by the name of Stewart) and the second by the name of Robert, was (because his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the consent of the realme during the life of his father, about the yere of our Lord God one thousand three hundred foure score and nine, being about the nineteenth yere of the reigne of the said Robert the second: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred

Robert Stewart.



died & ninetie. After whose death, when Robert the third, being before called John, came to the kingdom, and had by a fall from his horse so hurted himselfe, that he was not able to follow the government of the kingdom, this Robert earle of Fife his brother was made gouernor of the kingdom. After which about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight, being about the ninth yeare of Robert the third king of Scotland, the king created this Robert Stewart duke of Albanie, being one of the first dukes which were made in Scotland. Besides which also, after the death of the same Robert the third, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and six, this Robert duke of Albanie was by new election, or rather confirmation established in the office of gouernor (as haue some Scottish chronicles) which duke of Albanie died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninetene, the third of September, when he had bene gouernor fiftene yeares after the death of Robert the third. Wherein it seemeth to me for this time that there is much difference of yeares, if the Scots haue truelie set the same downe; for those accounts can not stand together, with the death of king Robert the third, and the yeares gouernement of the duke of Albanie, after the death of the king. But I passe it ouer, and rather impute the fault to the offendor, in mistaking the figure of the number of yeares, than anie want of consideration in the writer of the historie.

Spordacke  
Steward.

Spordacke Stewart erle of Fife & Mentith, the eldest sonne of Robert duke of Albanie, was after his fathers death made gouernor of Scotland, continuing in that office by the space of foure yeares, untill about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and foure, in which yeare he found meanes to bring home James the right king of Scots, who had bene eightene yeares deteined in England, and placed him in the kingdom of Scotland, by the name of James the first: at what time the crowne was set vpon the kings head with the hands of the said Spordacke the gouernor, & Henrie bishop of saint Andrews. This duke was in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and six, and in the second yeare of the reigne of James the first committed of high treason, and beheaded before the castell of Sterling. He had issue two sons, Walter Stewart, and Alexander, which were also beheaded at the same place the daie before the death of their father.

Alexander  
Levingstone.

Alexander Levingstone knight was made gouernor the daie after that James the second was crowned, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand four hundred thirtie & six: for the king being but six yeares old, the nobilitie did appoint the said Alexander Levingstone of Calender knight to be gouernor of the realme: at what time the kings person was committed to the education and rule of William Creiton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. After this in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, about the eight yere of James the second, they both (through dissention which had long continued betwene them about their authorities) were put from their offices, removed from the king all their friends, banished the court, and they themselves commanded to appeere before the king: which because they refused so to do, they were both proclaimed rebels and put to the horne.

Marie.

Marie the daughter of the duke of Guelberland & widow to James the second, was appointed with others to be gouernors: for after the death of James the second, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thou-

sand four hundred and thre score. (when James the third his sonne was but seauen yeares old) the nobilitie assembled at Edenborough to provide for the administration of the realme, because the king was so young. Whereupon there were seven regents appointed for the gouernement both of the kings person, and also of the kingdom, which were Marie the quene his mother, James Kennedy bishop of S. Andrews, being sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glasgow, the earles of Angus, Huntley, Argile, and Dhenie. These so long as Kennedy liued, agreed well together about the gouernment of the realme; but shortly after his decease, or rather before, they fell at square, which we will more largely touch hereafter when we haue a little spoken of the death of this bishop, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred thre score and six, and in the first yeare of the reigne of king James the third, who being buried in the college of saint Sauoir which he founded most sumptuously in the towne of saint Andrews, did in his life time besides his bishopricke hold in his possession the commandrie of the abbete of Petstowen, which was worth vnto him 800 crownes by yeare: the grauitie and wisdom of which bishop occasioned Lescleus in his commendation to set downe these few words.

Hic (which was this bishop of saint Andrews) prudentia consilioque ita lauit, vt quicquid latebat in republica insidiarum, aperiret, vnde merito potest dici, non armis regem, sed ingenio episcopum Douglassij superbiam fregisse, ac furorē retudisse. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificio insigniter polita, & sumptu magnifice instructa, omnibus admirationem sui faciebant) collegium sancti Saluatoris, in quo iuuentus ad eruditio-nem ac religionem informari possit; sepulchrum quo mortuus tegebatur, ac nauim onerariam ingentis magnitudinis. Horum vnumquodque eiusdem fuisse pretij vulgi sermone celebratum est. After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life, in the second yeare of the reigne of king James the third, being in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand four hundred thre score and two, there was discord kindled betwene quene Marie the Dowager, and the archbishop Kennedy, who perceiving that the woman did whole sake to vsurpe the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood it in that behalfe, inso much that it was doubted that the matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill warre, if that the bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen, with certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt both the parties for attonement, who wrought so effectuallie therein, that the matter was quieted in this maner. The quene mother was appointed to haue the charge and custodie of the kings person, and of his brethren Alexander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Marre, and also of their two sisters. But as for the administration and gouernement of the realme of Scotland, the should leaue it to the pères, wherefore by common consent there were elected as gouernors the bishops of Glasgow, and Dunkeld, the earle of Dhenie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor.

Margaret the daughter to Henrie the seventh king of England was (after the death of hir husband James the fourth, and in the minority of hir sonne James the fifth, being but a yeare and six moneths old when he was inuested with the kingdom) made regent of the realme, which the should gouerne by the counsell of James Beine archbishop of Glasgow, the earles of Huntley, Angus, and Arrane,

Arrane, but shortly after they falling out amongst themselves for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

John duke of  
Albanie.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and gouernor of the realme, as he which next of blood to the king, and next to the crowne) was by vniuersall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, hauing the same confirmed vnto him by a parlement holden at Cdenburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene, and the first yeare of the yong king James the first. Whereof intelligence being brought vnto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fouretene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred and fiftene, and in the third of James the first, on the seuententh of Maie, he arrived at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of gouernor, who was honorablie interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Cdenburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Cdenburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serueth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed gouernor, the scepter and sword being deliuered vnto him, and an oath by him to the lordes, and by the lordes to him giuen, that each of them should be faithfull to each other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, as saith Lelless, committed the gouernement of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, and to the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane. And least anie euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Cdenburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lordes Elchwine, Bothwike, and Ruthuene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke hauing thus bene about some thre yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentie, remaining still gouernor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, and about the twelue yeare of the reigne of king James the first, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the  
quene.

Margaret the quene, the mother of James the first, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, the six and twentieth of Julie) find meanes that the yong king came from Sterling vnto Cdenburgh: thre daies after which the quene took the whole gouernment vpon hir, and entred into the castle of Cdenburgh with the king, making the lord Marwell protonot of Cdenburgh. When the quene appointing a parlement to be held the februarie following, there were in the same parlement eight lordes chosen to be of the kings priuite counsell, to take on them the gouernment of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Leneur, to whom the quene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dowlaglas earle of Angus in the

end fullie getting the whole gouernment into his hands.

Archibald Dowlaglas (after that the bishop of Dunblane was dead, and the quene gone vnto Sterling, leauing the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, being about the thirtenth of James the first) took the whole gouernment vpon him both of the king and kingdome, setting vp, remouing, and pulling downe what officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaraton of his authoritie and gouernment, made his vncle Archibald Dowlaglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dowlaglas and the earle of Leneur who assisted him. After which there was a diuorce had betwene the quene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, and the sixteenth yeare of the same James the first, was atteinted by parlement holden at Cdenburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute gouernment into his hands in the seuententh yeare of his age, and the said sixteenth yeare of his said gouernment. Whereupon the yeare following, this Archibald came vnto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason whereof he fled into England.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of James the first) being but seven daies old obtained the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclaimed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that Dauid Beton, fauor of the French causes had without all reason usurped the gouernment, vnder the pretence of a deuised will and testament of James the first, in which testament he was appointed gouernor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quenes consent a gouernor to the person of the yong quene, which was the lord Levingstone capitaine of Lithgow. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the second yere of quene Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michaele. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and thre, being about the twelue yeare of quene Marie, this earle was inforced to leaue his office of gouernor, and the quene took the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same vnder hir: whereupon the gouernor in the yeare following, being one thousand five hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chateleault. The procurators which were appointed for and by quene Marie, were (as hath Lelless) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinal of Lozeine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writteth the same Lelless in these words: Hos (which was hir curators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the quene of Scots) matris suasu, Henricum regem Francie, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisum eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem regine matri procurandam transfulerunt: &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after him, and one Dauid Hamilton.

Lelless lib. 16  
pag. 517.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as is to be seen to James the first, and mother to the yong quene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelue yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quene Marie, made regent of Scotland vnder hir daughter the same yong quene, which office

Marie dowager of Scotland.

office this regent tooke upon hir having the same confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about six yeares, & died in the castle of Edinburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thre score, being upon the point of the eighteenth yeare of quene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth:

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 369.

Fuit autem corpus in Galliam postea transactum, primum ad monasteriū Feckamenſe, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cenobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui foror ipsius piē tunc præerat, delatū, honorificē condebatur.

James  
Steward.

James Steward bastard sonne to king James the first king of Scots, and base brother to Marie quene of Scots now living and imprisoned, being puz of saint Andrews and earle of Spar, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, being about the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, made earle of Spurreie. About five yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conspired against quene Marie, tooke hir, committed hir to prison, deposed hir, and upon the same (on the nineteenth daie of Julie in the the yeare a thousand five hundred thre score & seven, being the five & twentieth yeare of the reigne of that quene) advanced hir sonne Charles James Steward (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdome, by the name of James the first: this James earle of Spurreie, was made regent and gouernor of the yong king James the first, and of the kingdome: who upon the office receiued, did by parlement abolish the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent untill his death, falling about the time of thre yeares after. For in the time of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was shot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Spurreie, married Agnes Keith daughter to the earle of Marshall.

Matthew  
earle of Lenex.

Matthew earle of Lenex, being sent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Spurreie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a conuention of the lords of Sterling. After which in August following, there was another conuention at Edinburgh, where by the consent of the thre estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland, at that time the earle of Huntley tooke upon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quene of Scots remaining then under custodie in England, which Huntley in hir name summoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, whereunto the earle of Lenex was summoned: to encounter which, the earle of Lenex caused a parlement likewise to be summoned in the kings name at the same place, whereunto the earle of Huntley was warned at the same daie. But the earle of Huntley coming no nēer at that time than Hecbin, it was ordered by the regent Lenex and the nobilitie, to pursue him: whereupon ensued great warres betwene the nobilitie of Scotland divided into factions, some taking part with the deposed quene Marie, and other with the yong king in possession. During which tumults & warres, this earle of Lenex hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a pistol by capteine Calder, whereof he shortly after died, in the yeare of Christ

one thousand five hundred thre score and eleven, being about the fourth yeare of James the first.

John Arleskin earle of Spar was made regent after the death of the earle Lenex, as male appeare by that which I haue before set downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome succeeded the earle Sponton, of whome I haue a little before spoken, and of whome we will more intreat hereafter, when we come to speake of his beheading, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred four score and one, falling about the fourteenth yeare of Lenex the first, after that the said earle had continued that office about five yeares. For being advanced to that place, about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and twelue, he continued in the same, untill he surrendered it, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentēne, as is before touched. Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let us descend to other matters which haue succeeded.

John Arleskin  
earle of Spar.

Earle Sponton  
regent of Scotland.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentēne, we saie that much about the time in which the earle Sponton gaue ouer his regentship, that the lord Clames, who was then in office of the chancelorship, was treacherously slaine by his enemies at Sterling, with a shot of purpose discharged against him, as he was coming out of Sterling castle, & going to his owne lodging from the councill or parlement. Whereby it seemeth that this murdering by sudden shot began now to be a common thing: for there were thre great persons in that time dispatched after that sort, which were the earles of Spurreie and Lenex regents, & this lord Clames chancelor. After the death of which lord Clames, the earle of Atholl was advanced to that place, and invested with the title of lord chancelor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancelor to treat of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumstances belonging thereto.

The lord  
Clames chancelor  
slaine.

The earle of  
Atholl made  
chancelor.

This officer the chancelor had his first originall in Scotland by Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie necessarie lawes for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancelor, conestable, marshall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in his historie of Scotland in these wordes: Felicitate rempublicam haud paucos annos administravit (king Malcolme) multis & egregijs operibus illustris: interque cetera municipialium legum volumen condidit, quas nostrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis seruauit, nihil pene immutatas, regiorum magistratuum iudiciumque, quos licet mundis, magisque Latine vocare possunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, conestabilem, mariscallum, camerarium, instanciarumque vocitant, & qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo essent: cunctorumque ministrorum aula annua salaria, vt nostris diebus penduntur, quantumque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac ceteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribusque soluendum foret, instituit. This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the Confessor, seemeth also to me com-

The originall  
of the office of  
the chancelor.

Lesleus lib. 5.  
pag. 204.

ueritie to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their manner of gouernement, lawes, and customs from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it maie be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen and Romans as other nations had: which as I do not suppose, because the Romans had but little doings amongst them, for as they neuer vied anie such officer in this land whilst they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it may be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whom they haue alwaies bene in league euer since the time of their king Achaius the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing that to be as it will (sith it is no dishonour for one nation to deriue their good lawes, beneficiall customes, or needfull officers from another, no more than it was for the Romans to fetch their lawes of the twelue tables from the Grecians) true it is, that this officer so ordeined by Malcolme amongst the Scots, was such an officer as was vied amongst the Romans, touching the cause of whose name, the ciuilians affirme that he was called Cancellarius à cancellando, cuius officium est rescripta, vel responsa imperatoris, & mandata inspicere, mala scripta cancellare, & bene scripta cū signaculo suo signare, & sigillū eis imprimere. Of which word chancelloz is risen this name, Archicancellarius quasi princeps cancellaria, as is noted by Azo in summa.

This officer taking his name of Cancellando, (that is) of defacing, blotting, or putting out of writings, did vse to aduall all writings, as we at this daie do obserue in our chancerie, by drawing certeine strokes or lines made crosse one vpon an other ouer the writing, in forme of wooden latices, in Latine termed Cancelli, which are either such latices as we at this daie, and of antiquitie vied in windowes, or such as were made to compasse about the iudgement seats. For thus said the ciuilians touching that; Cancelli sunt ligna inter sedib. interuallis in trasuersum connexa, quibus tribunalia, scænæ & fenestræ muniri consueuerunt. And Cicero saith in his first booke *De Oratore*; Forensibus cancellis circumscriptam sententiam, &c. From which word Cancelli, is deduced this word Cancellare. For thus do some write thereof; Cancelli verbum videtur esse deductum à Cancellis, in quibus vt trasuersaria neuntur ligna, ita cum scripta expungenda sunt, trasuerso calamo lineæ inducuntur, quod propriè illinere, seu allinere est, vel litura: wherupon thus writeth Q. F. Horace the licicall poet in his tract called the art of poetrie;

— incompis allinet atrum  
Trasuerso calamo signum, &c.

as who should saie, He doth cancell and blot out the writing with lines drawne one ouer an other like latices, the ciuilians fullie agreeing to the same and saying, that Cancellare est scripta transductis lineis instar cancellorum delere. Beside which this word Cancellarius is also by some (whose curious ears and pens count the words of former ages to be barbarous) taken scarselie for good Latine, and therefore saie that this officer more purelie ought to be called Scribarum præfectus, of which number Polydor Virgil is one, who in his admonition to the reader, at the end of his historie of England, setteth downe these words: Monitum te optime lector volo, per multa verba minus Latina longo vsu non item ratio-

ne iam primum in consuetudinē quotidiani sermonis venisse, sic vt velimus nolimus ea interdum vsurpare cogamur, cuiusmodi sunt dux & comes, olim officij tantum at summæ nunc dignitatis vocabula. Item comitatus pro regione, cancellarius pro scribarum, abbas prior pro monachorum præfecto: and Leland calleth the chancelloz Archigrammateus. Besides which there be some in our age, who searching after the originall & etymologies of names, affirme this word chancelloz to be deriued from the Saron tong, as it were a cleare or shining person or one excellling other men: compounding that word of these two parts, chance and clere, in which word this part clere doth after the Saron signifie in Latine Præminens, or clarus, and that part chance must note to vs a man. But how aptlie and trulie the same may stand to make the etymon of chancelloz, I leaue to others to consider. This thus said for the originall and name of the officer called the chancelloz, of whose succession we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this sort.

In the moneth of Iulie there was a parlement of the nobilitie assembled, where Robert Steward great vncle to the king was created erle of Lenear, being girded with the sword of that earledome, after the death of Charles Steward, sonne of Mathew Steward erle of Lenear, wherof we haue before intreated. But ouerpasing this Robert, being honoured with a new title, not due to him by inheritance, for anie thing which I can yet perceiue, we will for a while take our leaue of the Scottish soile, though not of the Scottish persons, and remember to speake somewhat of the doings of Steward, cozonell of the Scots, which serued in the wars of the low countries: where he behaued himselfe right balliantlie to his owne and his countries commendation. For when the warres were at the hottest in those low countries betwene the states and king Philip (at what time the archduke Matthias was generall for the noblemen or states, and John duke of Austria, the base sonne of Charles the first, and like brother to king Philip, was gouernour of those parts for the same king Philip) the states gathered a puissant armie of all such nations as were there in seruice with them (as English, Scots, Germans, and their owne countrymen) vnder the conduct of the countie Borsue, with whom duke John of Austria determining to encounter, hoping by that one conflict to set end to all the warres, and to make a full pacification of the countie: it happened that on the first of August, in this yeare that the armie of the dukes of Austria coming to visit the armie of the states (which late then incamped in the field called Reminant) that in the armie (as I said before composed of diuerse nations both footmen and horsemen) there was amongst others one companie of Scots vnder the leading of Steward their capteine and countryman, who being with his companie called forth into the battell, was appointed to keepe the streit on the left side, when the English should keepe the like streit on the right hand. After which the enimie making towards the armie of the states, they were intercepted by the English, who interteined them with such sufficient skirnish, as that they forced Don Johns men to giue ground and retire towards the strength of the Scots (which the same Steward had in charge) and that so farre, that in the same action the English brought themselves betwixt the enimie and the Scots, who mistaking the companie, and supposing them to be their enimies, gaue them from the hedge, where they late such a volie of shot, that it made them to lose more ground than euer the enimie could haue done.

The enimie in the meane time perceiuing that, and

I 578

Robert Steward created earle of Lenear.

The tragicall historie of the ciuill warres of the low countries, li. 4. fo. 31. Churchyards choice.

Gl. in l. si quis libertatem, de per. hared.

and being now fighting upon the retreat came forward with great force and furie, having a new supplye of numbers of fresh souldiours to succour them. All which notwithstanding they could not for all that they might do, force them to abandon the streit which they had in charge, untill such time as certeine Englishmen (that were left within the closes to discover the enimie) brought word that the enimie had entered the streit upon the Scots. Which thing was indeed verie true, for even at that instant the fire was seene to arise in the village; and the whole forces which were to enter betwene the water and the English companies, retired themselves to the heath againe. The Scots then valiantlie making good their fight upon the retreat, the lieutenant of the English was likewise driven to the same: which if he had not done, the enimie had cut betwixt him, his companie and the trenches. This being well perceived by capitaine Liggins, he presentlie advanced himselfe, and was now come halfe the waie to the succour of the lieutenant, to prevent the enimie and to ioine with the forces of the same lieutenant, all who being gotten together did retire to the church, and perceiving that the enimie came on appaie, the lieutenant of the English leaveth capitaine Liggins to a reasonable ground of strength to intertaine them, when he himselfe retourneth backe to fetch release for capitaine Liggins his retreat.

The enimie seeing the streit of the waie, and that their other forces prevailed more on the other streit, forsooke arie longer to attempt the same against the English, and retired themselves all they might on the side ouer the closes, to ioine them with their other forces, which had even now passed the streit which the Scots had in gard, who all together made hast by to the hill, and so to the burnt house, then fired by the Scots, at that instant forsaking the field, and retiring them to the campe, after that they had obtained victorie against the Spaniards, by valiant resisting & pursuing the force of the enimie. At what time also maister Morris coronell of the English, and the forenamed maister Steward coronell of the Scots, carried awaie the whole commendation of this victorie obtained by the men of these two nations of England and Scotland. But leaving the Scots reioicing of this god successe in those low countreies, we will call backe our pen and resalute the countrie of Scotland, at this time in some civill dissensions amongst themselves, whereof these manie yeares, since the government of this young king, it seemeth to me that it hath not long bene free.

In the forenamed moneth of August, there grew secret dissention amongst the nobilitie at home, which still continued & fed the former unkindlie fire of contention betwene the two factions of the young king, and the imprisoned quene: by occasion whereof the realme was divided into three parts, some following the king, some standing one the quenes side, & some assisting neither of both, all which by some were termed by three severall names; as the kings faction, the part of the male-contents, and the neutrals, consisting of such as remained indifferent on both sides, neither seeking to uphold the one or to suppress the other. Amongst which on the kings part were manie earls, lords and bishops, as Dowglas erle of Morison admerall of Scotland, Dowglas erle of Angus, Dowglas erle of Bughane, Arckin erle of Marre, Steward erle Bothwell, Cunningham erle of Glenkarne, Leslie erle of Wrothouse, Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, Steward erle of Mkenzie, and Steward erle of Lencur, all which were in house with the king, and attendant upon his person, with whom were confederat the

lords Boid, Ocheltre, Ruthwen treasure of Scotland, Harris, Marwell, Lindseie, Semple, and others.

Besides these, bishops and abbats, that is to saie, Patrike Adamson archbishop of S. Andrews, Cunningham (kinsman to the erle of Glenkarne) bishop of Aberdeen, Boid (of blood and kindred with the lord Boid) archbishop of Glasgowe, Dowglas erle bishop of Annatto, Herburne bishop of Rose, Robert Betcarne abbat of Dunfermeling, cheefe secretarie of Scotland, Colington abbat of Cowdros, Richard Bedwell abbat of Holierod house, one of the counsell, the abbats of Cambuskinnell and of Wiburgh, with James Magill maister of the rolles, or cleark of the register, and one of the counsell. These noble persons thus aiding the king, the partie of the male-contents was supported by manie other persons of the nobilitie: as Camberle erle of Argile, Steward erle of Atholl, Sinclair erle of Cathnessie, Gordon erle of Southerland, Gordon erle Huntley (who was verie young, of six yeares of age, and had his power with these earles) the earles of Pentros and Penteth (being both surnamed Grahams) and Kenedie erle of Casselles a child of three yeares old, whose strength was also ioined to these male-contents. Besides which earles there was to assist those male-contents Crawford shiriffe of Aire, Kenedie lord of Borgenie, Kenedie lord of Blackethen, the lords of Marewell, Lochene, Hume (being but six yeares old) which Hume lord of Colden knolles (warden of the middle marches of Scotland) Alexander Hume of Spauldstone, Care (lord Seford, and the lord Lindseie, with the Hebburns, which whole depended upon the lord Lindseie; unto whom in like sort, as partaking of the same malecontentment, were added Alexander Arskine, of Mar, uncle to the erle of Mar, & capitaine of the castell of Edenburgh, and Cunningham the lard of Duntwaile, capitaine of Dunbartaine, with manie other persons of honour and strength.

The heads of these two factions thus set downe, it resteth now to declare who were the neutrals, who being but few, and as I can yet learne onelie three in number, so they were of no great power; aswell for that the one of them being Beth the earle Marshall, was a sickelie man; as for that the Hamiltons were not beloved of the king, nor greatlie esteemed of the other factions: and the third, the Lethingtons familie, wanting their head the lord of that house, being then in France, whereby they could not be of great power, which part soever they should support. The order of which division and proceeding in Scotland, comming afterward to the knowledge of the quene of England, who had sent Robert Bolwes a man of god service hir ambassador into Scotland, she did also (tendering the young king of Scots, and as a carefull neighbour and loving godmother, fearing least that he might receive iniurie, by the assemble of these malecontents, whose power grew to be somewhat strong) direct hir commission to the erle of Huntington, president of the north in England, and to the lord Hunsdon capitaine of Berwicke, they both being of blood and alliance unto hir maiestie. In which commission, she willed them to levie an armie of footemen and horsemen to be imployed in those warres. All which these English lords should have in a readinesse, against such time as the said maister Bolwes (who, as ye have heard before, had bene sent into Scotland to pacifie these troubles, and to establish a quiet peace and love amongst them) should give knowledge for their entrance into the Scottish dominions (under the conduct of the same lord of Hunsdon) against the power of those male-contents. Whereupon the



lord Dundon (having a time appointed him accordingly, and being in order set, well furnished with men and munition) setting forward to execute the force of his commission, threatened spoile to many places of Scotland belonging to the borderers, and burnt the houses of the lords there inhabiting: if they joined themselves with the malecontents, as they had fullie deliberated for to do. By reason whereof, they leaving their former determination, and for that present refusing to joine against the king: these malecontents (doubting the sequell of their attempt, and how they might performe that which they had taken in hand, being now in the field and in armes (against the other faction) began to hearken unto a pacification, and were after reconciled to the king and the other lords, about the two and twentieth of the same moneth of August, as I have bene informed. Which matter being more largelie to be discussed, because it is knowne by the name of the battell of Fankirke. I must for this time passe over, determining hereafter more liberallie to intreat thereof. Wherefore, falling into other matter, we saie, that much about this time, John Lesle bishop of Ross (who had some yeares before bene some certaine time imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had travelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned queens of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for him, as the princes which favored his faction would yield) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Wandolph, as the second of that name now emperor. Which Lesle, taking his journeie out of Italie, passed through the frontier to wnes of Germanie, and was staied at Haultburgh, otherwise called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Baier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Helldenz; in which citie, his cofers and other thinges were rifled and searched: at what time there were many writings found, and amongst others certaine papers, in which did appeare what friends the queene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enemies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gave the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enemy to his religion) this bishop of Ross was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safeconduct to come unto him. Wherefore the duke of Baier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablelly dismiss the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, and conveying him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horsemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Ross to leave a testimoniall writing in the Latine tongue under his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was done to the said bishop; in that his detaining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not aie waite for anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the same) I have faithfullie and *Verbatim* set downe in this sort.

The testimoniall left by the bishop  
of Ross with the duke of  
Baier.



Os Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Moravie, &c: testatur hoc scripto palam & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cum in hisce periculosis & mo-

tuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negotiationes, ad turbandam pacem publicam, aut noxias dissensiones sub quovis prætextu tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinant aut patiantur; præcipue cum nunc exempla in vicinis locis extant, quam facile aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, ut illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauariæ, comesque Veldentziæ, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelsheimensi, & vrbæ Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exqueretur, significauit. Post factam retentionem, celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, ubi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc apulit: præsertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliquæ copiarum instructionis & memorialium eius celsitudini missæ fuerat, unde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cum mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirum, ut extirpata hæresis, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuracione Scoticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præsertim cum plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credencialibus à papa salutauerimus, & inuiserimus. Ad quam suspicionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conatus sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ vrgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tam in religione, quam politicis perturbare, & suspicionem principibus Augustanæ confessionis mouere, non minus quam ipsius celsitudini possent. Nihilominus celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quam præcedentibus suspicionibus imminentium periculorum non diutius nos detenturos conclusit. Ea tamen conditione, ut promitteremus nos contra patriam in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut instructione dissensionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, sicut & alibi, sed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere possimus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundo, quod polliceamur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, neque per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quæ nominari possit, illam detentionem vindicatam fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ passim (potissimum verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maximè verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Idcirco ab illustrissima eius celsitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arcetissimæ inter ordines cõiunctionis, hanc circumspectionem & detentionem nostram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accepimus: cum præsertim eius celsitudo, non modò liberaliter nos habuerit, sed absque omni rerum nostrarum iactura, alijsque dispendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiosè splendido equitum comitatu in maiorem securitatem deduci iusserit. Idcirco sanctè pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse, sancitum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios, vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos

& ditiones hanc retentionem perfequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corroboracionem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelleni 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis  
& administrator ecclesie Morauensis.

This Lesle being yet liuing, and (as I vnderstand) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancelor of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both intioied honozable titles in descent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealtie of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was vered with vnusall war, first by Harold king of England the son of Godwine, & then by the Norman ballard surnamed the Conqueror, which Hue Harold and obtained the crowne of England; Edgar did puiellie take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obtaine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whence they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grieuouslie molested with vehement winds, which forriblie made them forsake their appointed course, and draue them into the mouth of the river of Forth or Frith, whose landing place is yet to be seene, & at this daie called S. Margarets haue (after the name of hir which was sister to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherwith she was wonderfullie indued) did after take to wife, & solemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Upon which deed William the Conqueror being moze grauouslie moued than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Lindseie, Haues, Ramseie, Louell, and diuerse other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme; their posteritie dw at this daie in our age flourish with great honoz. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerse other persons of account, as Crichton, Fodringham, Giffert, Spaulis, Wothlike, and others; amongst whom Bartholomew Lesle descended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the rest appeare verie famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (ioined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vsed his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edinburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Lesles haue sprung and flourished manie worthie persons, valiantlie resisting and subduing their enimies. And amongst those, one Walter Lesle earle of Rosse, who afterward purchased such singular commendation for valor and wisdome shewed in manie battels of the emperor Lewis the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens, Vt (one of their owne name now a bishop of Rosse in his historie of Scotland saith) a quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frangere, & sub iugū fortiter mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum sit consecutus: eiusdem stirpis comes Rorhesius, multique alij barones & equites Leslei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primū,

ac alij deiade reges multis amplisque agris, in Fisa, Augusia, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijsque prouincijs munificē cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vigent. Of whose line and name at this daie (as is before said) continuing in great honoz, the earle of Rosse now liuing called Lesle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Galloway or Galloway, the same earle of Rosse being a person no lesse wife and honozable, than descended of ancient and honozable ancestors. But leauing that familie, let vs returne from whence we haue digressed.

The bishop of Rosse being departed from the duke of Banier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and nineteene, Amies Steward the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to John the eldest brother of Matthew Leneur, sometime regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king most honozable receiued, and aduanced to further honoz. For the king taking from Robert Steward (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earldome of Leneur, he now inuested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby moze firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And least he should seeme by taking the earldome from Robert Steward to haue wronged him, the king for recompense thereof, bestowed vpon the said Robert Steward as honozable a title and earldome as the same was, for he inuested the same Robert with the earldome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earldome of Leneur vnto a dukedome, he did bestow that honoz of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneur, which title at this daie, his sonne being a towardlie young gentleman doth most honozable possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which doth in this our age intioie that title of duke, being such an honoz as was but latelie begun amongst them, and neuer verie plentiful in that region: for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose noylished at anie one time (when that title was risest amongst them) thre persons adorned with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnusall to saie somewhat in this place.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vsed by Robert the third of that name, whose right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill successe to grow to the kingdome by a gouernor so called. For thus wrote the Scots as Lesleus hath deliuered with these speeches: Verū quum ipsi nobiles arbitrarētur nomini inesse nescio quid ominis infausti, quod reges Franciæ & Angliæ, hoc nomine consignati, bello prehenderētur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerūt. Quæ illorum siue in nominis obseruatione superstitio, siue in regis conseruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multo post ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita contusa fuerunt, vt (quod regnandi molestias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fisenfi fratri suo regni gubernationē dedere cogeretur. Which John as before is said, having now obtained a new name, was the first which brought a new title of honoz into his kingdome: for he created David his eldest sonne duke of Rothseie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Albany, as is set downe by the same Lesleus in these wordes;

The lord of Obignie made earle of Leneur.

Robert Steward made earle of March.

The first creation of dukes in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 264.

To which king John of England and France, he might also haue added one of his own countrie of Scotland John Balliol the king, who was as informant in his gouernment as anie of the other.

## The historie of Scotland.

**words:** Tertio plus minus anno (which was about the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure scoze and thirtene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habito, post alias res pro regni comodo sapienter actas, rex Dauidem filium suum titulo ducis Rothfaix, & Robertum fratrem suum quem regno administrando præfecerat, ducis Albanij honore ornat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illustrati. Thus much he, proving that it is not above one hundred foure scoze and thirtene yeares since that title came first into Scotland. Wherby it appereth that England since the conquest having dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie & seven, made his eldest sonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred forty & nine yeeres past, being fiftie and six yeere before they had a nie in Scotland. And as those two before named were the first which were invested with the honoz of duke in Scotland, so after the death of the same king which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, in the Interregnum or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eightene yeares from the said yeere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which James the first having bene trained by in England obtained the crowne, and vnder the protectozship of Howard (the sonne of the foresaid Robert the first duke of Albanie) to whom the government of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the said Robert the third.

Archibald Dowglas was the first Scot which passing the seas, & serving a strange pince, intoted anie such title of duke in anie forein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French against the English, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be moze faithfull vnto him, created John Steward earle of Buquaine constable of France, & advanced the said Archibald Dowglas to the honoz of the dukedome of Lurone: but he did not long inioie that great title, being shortly after slaine at the battell of Mernoille, in the yeere of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treating of which battell Buchanan, whose name may rightlie be deduced from Buccavanna, beyond all modestie and courte of reason forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath spued out all his malice against the English nation, whereof I have treated in my former additions to the historie of Scotland. Thus having somewhat digressed from the matter of later yeares, wherewith I ought to have furnished my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Obegnie, who was at this time created duke of Lencur, and who occasioned me to make this discourse. Wherefore I will here set downe what Lesseus hath written of the first originall of that house in France, and of this duke of Lencur thus by the king netelie as before said created, the words of which Lesseus bishop of Kasse be these: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the waeres against the king of England, when the Scots were thus advanced in the dominions of France, being meane betwene the said yeares of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) paulo ante conscripsit, quæ vulgò Scotorum armorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multisque alijs terris, muneribus, honoribus, & baleagijs cõmuni populi sermone dictis, a rege insignitus est. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiusdem cognominis & prosapiæ continuata, successio-

nis serie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militiæ ducem, deinde per Robertum, denique Johannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu possessa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohânis filius non paruum suorum virtutis spem de se excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtinet. Thus much Lesle. Beside which that Lesleus hath set downe of the first lord of Obegnie in France, Paulus Iouius in his booke of Emperesse written in Italian, hath not forgotten to speake somewhat of him, where he setteth downe the devise of his enignes or armes in this sort translated by me into English.

There was (saith Iouius) amongst the Frenchmen a man of knowne vertue or prowesse, & most famous capteine called Heberard Steward (borne of the blood roiall of Scotland) being honozed with the title of monsieur de Obegnie, who being of kindred to James the fourth of that name, did beare for his devise or enigne, a field siluer, a ramping lion gewles, with a number of buckles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare vpon his upper garment, and likewise bear in his standard, with this posse, Distantia iungit: signifieng thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit together the king of Scots and the French king, with a iust counterpoise against the force of the king of England, naturall enimie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much I of the duke of Lencur lord of Obegnie in France. After which, sith I am now in discoursing of dukes of that countrie, and have shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not misfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowledge by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eightene; which I will not refuse to do in this place, following the same course which I haue obserued before in the historie of England, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

### A catalog of all the dukes of Scotland by creation or descent.

**D**avid Steward (eldest son of John Steward earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leauing the name of John when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure scoze and eightene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothseie, when he was about eightene yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was borne the two and twentieth daie of October one thousand three hundred three scoze and eightene, made duke in the yeare one thousand three hundred fourescoze & eightene, as some haue. But Lesleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstances do gather, to the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescoze & thirtene. He married Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Steward second son to Robert the second king of Scots, by Elisabeth Pure or More his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Menteith, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescoze and eightene, and the eight yeare of the gouernement of Robert the second, advanced

nanced to the title and honoz of the dukedome of Albanie : this Robert and the other David as I haue before noted, being the first dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernoz of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend David the duke of Rothesie, and committed him to stret prisonment in Fankeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whose want of food was such, that he was saine to gnaw his owne fingers : of this Robert is moze spoken in my protectozs of Scotland.

Murdacke  
duke of Albanie.

Murdacke called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is most likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernoz of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat moze of him in that place.

Alexander  
duke of Albanie.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of James the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie yong at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & threescore, was with his brother John earle of Mar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre score and thre, being the third yeare of James the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland; but was after restored home by the meanes of James Kennedy bishop of saint Andrews. About sixtene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and nineteene, falling in the sixteenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whence being well furnished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie received, and there married the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortly after dieng, and the duke perceiving him selfe not to be so well bled as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth lovinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Whereupon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, committing without any resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentieth yeare of James the third as far as Kaddrag, or Kaddalrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclaimed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke setteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the quene, without knowlege thereof given to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, and the thre and twentieth yeare of James the third, this duke hauing intelligence that there was poison prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time also the king for his owne safetie, got him vnto the castell of Edinburgh: whereupon the earle of Angus and Buckquaine forsaking the king, took part with the duke.

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesleus saith

that he took a little bofe and so escaped into France, where he was honorablie intertained by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chualrie; thus writeth Lesleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did inuade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite inuict astant, particula cuiusdam hastæ traicitur, breuè post moritur, about the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre. He left two sonnes behind him, John duke of Albanie gouernoz of Scotland during the minority of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orkadie, which Alexander was after bishop of Purreie, and abbat of Scone.

John Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obtaine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre: of this man I haue made a moze large discourse in the gouernozs of Scotland, whereunto I refer the; and therefore omit to talke any further of him in this place.

John duke of Albanie.

James Steward (eldest sonne to James the third) being duke of Rothesie, is by some termed prince of Rothesie, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and two on the tenth date of March, being about the twelue yeare of the reigne of his father James the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentieth yeare of his father, and the sixteenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capteine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banockburne two miles from Sterling, incounting with the king his father, did there slea him; whereupon this James duke of Rothesie was presentlie made king by the name of James the fourth.

James Steward duke of Rothesie.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rothesie: for thus writeth Lesleus li. 8. pag. 331. In studium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and nine) sedulo, vt Alexander dux Rothosiæ & Iohannes comes Mariz sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissime imbuerentur, tantoque sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnifice alerentur. He died the sixteenth kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtine at Sterling.

Alexander duke of Rothesie.

Henrie Steward lord Dornelesie the eldest sonne to Matthew Steward erle of Lenear, was brought up in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie the quene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Ross, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and five by the same quene, about the thre and twentieth yeare of hir reigne: shortly after which he was in the Iulie following created duke of Albanie; and on saturday the eight and twentieth day of the same moneth before the marriage, proclaimed king by the quenes commandement, at the market crosse of Edenborough, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentieth date of the same moneth, in the chapell at Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning: which honoz he did not long inioze.

Henrie duke of Albanie.

intoie. For in the tenth of Februarye, in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and six (what by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false perswasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne ouerthrow, and that by such as moued him thereto) he was miserable slaine in a house within the towne, nere to kirke a field.

Amies Ste-  
ward duke of  
Leneur.

Amies Steward lord of Obigne in France, sonne to John Steward brother to Mattheu Steward earle of Leneur, being first by James the first of that name made earle of Leneur, was after by the same king made duke of Leneur; who being dead, hath left a yong sonne behind him, a gentle man of great hope, at this date liuing, inioieng the title of his father, and called duke of Leneur. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue bene in Scotland, we will descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

Edowike  
Steward  
duke of Le-  
neur.

That diuers of the Scots haue obtai-  
ned the title and honor of dukes in  
forren countries.



So it is honorable to anie man to be ad-  
uanced unto anie title of honour in his  
owne countrie, either for desert or fauor;  
whereof yet parcialitie maie most com-  
monlie be the furtherer: so is it far more honorable  
and remoued from all suspicion of undeserued fa-  
uor, to be intrusted with anie title of dignitie for anie  
cause in a forren countrie; because princes (whose  
hands are mostlie opened to enrich their subiects, in  
whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principallie in-  
closed) do not commonlie without singular desert ad-  
uance strangers to them by birth in an other nation,  
& not their native subiects, for that they are people,  
to whom without an especiall trial anie prince is  
not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and  
much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the  
same being an argument of worthie desert, either  
for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for  
the valour of seruice of the aduanced, when anie one  
is aduanced with anie such title of honor, I thinke it  
not unfit in this place to obscure the glorie of the  
Scots (who might impute the same to be malicious-  
lie done by me) and to omit such of their nation as  
haue inioied the title of dukes in a forren countrie,  
especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of  
Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small,  
as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in  
some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer  
in silence: yet carrying a contrarie mind, in that I  
would not anie waie pretermitt what they inllie de-  
serue, I will faithfullie set downe what I find recoz-  
ded touching the same after this maner.

Archibald  
Dowglas  
duke of Tour-  
aine.

Archibald Dowglas was created duke of  
Touraine in France in this sort. In the peare of  
Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and thre  
as some saie, or one thousand foure hundred and six  
as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie  
thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of  
numbers which haue happened through the con-  
trarietie of bookes) Charles the seventh of that  
name king of France, sending ambassadoz into  
Scotland, to renew the old league betwene the two  
nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid  
against the English, there were ambassadoz and o-  
ther noble men sent likewise into France out of  
Scotland, with whose comming the French king be-  
ing greatlie comforted, and hoping of good successe  
against the English by reason of the Scottish aid, he  
did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court

creat this Archibald Dowglas (then erle of Wigh-  
ton) duke of Touraine. But that honor continued  
not long with him, for in the peare of Christ one  
thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, at the  
battel of Mernoile in Perth the English obtained  
the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and  
heire James Dowglas earle of Wighton was a-  
mongst others most vnfortunatlie slaine.

Archibald  
Dowglas  
duke of Tour-  
aine.

Archibald earle Dowglas was duke of Tour-  
aine, as I gather by the words of Lesleus touching  
this Archibalds sonne, of whom we will speake here-  
after, and then set downe the same words of Lesleus  
to proue Archibald duke of Touraine, who married  
the earle of Craufozds daughter, by whom he had  
issue William earle Dowglas, a child of fouretene  
yeares old which succeeded him, & one David Dow-  
glas. After which this Archibald died at Lefseirig  
in the peare of Christ one thousand foure hundred  
thirtie and nine, being about the thirde yeare of king  
James the first.

William earle Dowglas a child of fouretene  
yeares of age succeeded his father in his inheritan-  
ces, and was after made duke of Touraine or Tour-  
raine, who being now earle Dowglas, deliuered  
forth such buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all  
men of his worthinesse and good successe, to his fur-  
ther honor and his countries benefitt. But in the end  
their expectations were deceiued after that he was  
made duke of Touraine: for being pufft vp in pride  
with those great honors, he forgot himselfe, and  
wrought his owne and his countries harme, where-  
of we will not now speake; but onelie set downe  
Lesleus words touching his admittance to the duke-  
dome of Touraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle  
Dowglas) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum  
Cummirnald & Alanu Lowder ad Carolum septi-  
mu Francorum regem misit, oratu, vt ducatu Toro-  
nensi eius patrimoniam & dignitates amplificarentur:  
equum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archi-  
baldus Dowglasius (qui pro libertate Francia bello  
Venerolensi mortem oppetiuit) fruebatur & pater  
illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, ideam ad se quoque  
perueniret. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono  
quantum illi ad honorem dignitatemque cumuli-  
tantum profecto ad superbiam, insolentiamque ma-  
teriam accessit. Thus much Lesle, placing the same  
to be done as other authozs also do, in the peare of  
Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine,  
being about the thirde yeare of the reigne of James  
the first of that name king of Scotland. Which honor  
he did not long intoie, for in the peare following be-  
ing the peare of Christ one thousand foure hundred  
and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king  
James; he was, for that he would neither obete the  
gouernment of the gouernor or chancelor, bidden to  
a banquet at Edinburgh castle, whereas when he and  
his brother David were set at dinner, the meat was  
suddenlie remoued, and a bulls head presented to the  
erle of Dowglas, being in those dates a token that  
he should shortly be executed. Immediatlie there-  
vpon, the said earle with his brother David, & Mal-  
colme Fleming lord of Cummirnald were behea-  
ded before the castle gate: so that this great ho-  
nor seemed to those Scots which possessed the same,  
not much vnlike to the Helane hoise, or to the honor  
of the dukedome of Gloucester.

Lesleus lib. 8.  
pag. 292.

This proueth  
Archibald  
Dowglas  
father to this  
William to be  
duke of Tour-  
aine.

James earle of Arrane being made gouernor to  
Marie quene of Scots, in the peare of Christ one  
thousand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being  
about seuen daies old, he began the first yeare of his  
vnfortunate gouernment, which I maie so rightlie  
terme, because he was after deposed in the peare of  
Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and se-  
uen, in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne) was  
made



made duke of Chatelerault by the French king in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelue yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherefore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practise by fozen persons of great state in Europe, to make some inuasion, or at the least some disturbance vpon one amongst such realmes as professed the gospel, and were enemies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, many princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embracing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerser part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselves against the popes doctrine, but had also drawne their necks from the yoke of his subiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tied neerelie in blood to the imprisoned quene, and to the young king of Scots, and supported with other princes purses, purposed to haue set full foot in Scotland, and to haue obtained the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdom. But God, in whose hands resteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting such determinations to sort to the purposed effect, did for that time frustrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise should with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and possessed Scotland, there arose troubles and turmoiles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphine, which called him from the dispatch of that his former deuise, for the stateng to appeale the same new insurrection, employing all his gathered forces therevnto, and encountering with those persons: the rigor of the same warres so weakened his strength, that he was not able (without some new supplie of men and monte, which could not be had vpon the sudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, least that the same intention might not seeme altogether to haue quailed, or that he should be noted to haue made shew to enterprise a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the bittermost; there was somewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not forth in all respects to answer the expected hope of good successe therein. For partlie by the policie of the Scots, and partlie by the support of the allies and friends to the king, but altogether by the united strength of both sorts, the Scots rid themselves of the same deuise, and since remained safe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, sometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and ready to suffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, some persons had conference with him about matters of great importance, on the same day wherein he was to suffer, which persons so conferring with him, were John Durie, and master Walter Bancanquell. In which discourse betwene the earle and them these matters in substance amongst manie others fell forth, in questions propounded by them, and in answers made by him in this sort almost word for word, drawne into some seuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me,

The examinations and answers of the earle of Morton before his death, but after his condemnation.

**I** First he was exhorted by them that he should not be discouraged by his overthrow, in considering the estate wherunto he had bene once called in this world, but rather remembering the glorie to come, he should reioice and be of good comfort. Wherevnto he answered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he respected it not, because he was persuaded that all worldly honoz is but vanitie, and the broken ræd of Egypt. And as concerning the estate wherunto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, because he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, so had he also appointed the manner thereof, seeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in respect of that immortallitie, & the everlasting ioy which he looked for, and whereof he was assured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part or knowledge in the kings death or murder: he answered with this attestation, that as he should answer to his Lord God, so he would declare all his knowledge therein: the sum wherof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for Dauids slaughter, he came out of Wetherston to Wetheringham, where the erle Bothwell was at the same time, with whome there was communication about the kings murder, but he would not consent thereto. After which, opening a large discourse thereof, lateng the cause, the contriuing, and the execution of the same in great persons now liuing, and confessing that they vnderstood thereof, and durst not for manie causes reueale the same, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Lennox; he added, how that in the end he was by the law now of late conuicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murder, when as he should answer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermore, shewing that after the erle Bothwell was cleared of that murder by assise, that he and sundrie of the nobilitie subscribed a bond with the erle of Bothwell, that if anie should laie the kings murder to his charge, he would assist him to the contrarie, and that therefore he subscribed to the quenes marriage with the erle Bothwell as sundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged therevnto by the quenes owne writing and commandement.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that seeing this murder of the king was one of the most filthiest acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the secrets thereof hath not hitherto bene opened, neither who was the chiefe doer therein, or whether the king was then strangled or blowne vp into the aire; that he should declare if he knew anie further secret therein: he answered, that as he should make answer to God, he knew no more secrets in that matter than he had already declared and heard, by the depositions of such as had already suffered for it, which depositions are yet extant. Again, being demanded if he knew anie presentie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whose compantie the king and commonwealth might be hurt: he answered that he knew none, neither would he accuse anie, &c.

Thirddie, being examined of the poisoning of the earle of Alhulst, if he had anie act or part therein:

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of the virgin.  
David Richie  
the Italian,  
secretarie to  
the quene,  
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yeare 1566,

he answered with godd attestation, saying; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knew anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common bzute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knew that maister John Hounant brought him anie poison; he replied that he knew no such thing, and that he knew nothing by maister Hounant but honestie, to which he moze added these speches; He, he, there is ouer-much filthinesse in Scotland alreadie, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earldome of Atholl, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue bene ministred, yea if there had ben one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conspracie against the earle of Lencur: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed anie conspracie against the earle of Lencur, neither minded to him anie hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it graued him that the earle of Lencur knew not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceived the danger of the kings person. For being thereunto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enemies, ouerthrowers of the kingdome, and enemies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the reime: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Lencur familiarity and his should haue bene greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conuening of the king or otherwise, or if he had anie pension of the quene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God vnder paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had anie dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the quene nor anie in his name, that euer moued anie such thing to me, so indredie as to conuete the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had bene for his profit and honor, &c. And for the more clere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but directlie his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mercie for anie thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie moze. If I had bene as carefull to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to seeke the kings wealth, I had not bene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the quene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the quene of England in all my life. And although they caused the bzute to go, that I should haue furnished the quene of Englands souldiours now last vpon the borders, I neuer knew of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixtly, being demanded what was his part of the enterprisse of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knew nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochlenen, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to keepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to keepe him in captiuitie there or in anie other place. But

he understood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as free at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present. And if he had known that his grace would haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladly haue gone with him.

Seuenthly, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue done much god for the furtherance of Gods glorie & advancement of his gospel, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; insomuch that rather than anie hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indeed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and follow the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this profession, that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had known better, he would haue done otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eighthly, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthy of this and moze: whereunto he yielded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indeed, that God hath alwaies done iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so ouermuch to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expressed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue done, for which I beseech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indeed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God should haue spared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I should then haue cast awaie all the cares of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthlie things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie. And if it shall please God to take me in this trouble, I am concluded also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the mercies of God. And for that cause I do now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue, and that I shall not see the miseries to come: for I will assure

you that I thinke this to be the most acceptable time that euer God could haue taken me in, because I perceiue and see such miseries and confusions to insue, that I thanke God that I shall not see them. And you who do feare God, and liue after me, when you shall see these things, you will wisly to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

Twelfthlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vsed against him, that his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong done vnto him or no, he answered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themselves vpon their consciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciences; yet I am moued to speake somewhat frelie in this matter which is this. I sawe such parciall dealing against me, that it hath bene all one to me, if I had bene as innocent as saint Stephan, or that I had bene as gillie as Judas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsoeuer things had bene, which appeareth in this, that no exception of anie person which was to passe vpon my assise could be admitted: for I required the earle of Argyle to purge himselfe of parciall counsell giuen to the pursuer my accusor; he purged himselfe indeed, but I knewe the contrarie, that he gaue parciall counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Manthor, the lord of Seitor, and such others, who were knowen to be my enemies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration wherof I can not but be perswaded of one thing, which it behooueth me to communicat vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they seeke onelie, but they who are authours of my death haue some other purpose in hand, which they perceiue will not be done, except I and such other which do fauor the god cause, were taken out of the waie. Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue bene so handled, and that such as hereafter shall be put thereto, may haue a more plaine waie to do their turne or intent: and I praise God that they which are to liue behind me see not the practise thereof, but I feare it so. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will giue my counsell to the king my master, and wisly you in the name of God to beare it to him, the summe wherof is this. I perceiue that they which haue bene the kings foes and enemies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue bene the mainteiners of his crowne & good friends, are discredited and disliked of. And likewise such as are knowen to be papists, and suspected to be enemies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, which surely can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his estat. For which cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and companie of good men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath done wisly if so euer. For I tell you what moueth me to speake thus, which is, that the state of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I here saie there is a dealing put in practise betwene France and England, and vpon their marriage with the queene is like to be feared; if France and England bind together, and that marriage go forward, you may easilie vnderstand, that the one of them will perswade the other to their religion, &c.

Thirteenthlie, being required to giue his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be done, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered: I dare giue him no coun-

sell, and I will tell you this; to bid him come in, partlie I dare not, all men may see in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counsell him to abide forth I dare not, for then he shall lose the kings fauour for euer, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all means possible to purchase the kings fauour againe, and to see if he may haue anie assurance of his life, and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his master his goodwill: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

Fourteenthlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which John Knoke gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a little before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knewe anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knewe nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefites which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wisdom and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefites aright, and better in time to come than you haue done in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospell, to the maintenance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects: which if you shall not do, God shall spoile you of these benefites, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. Then being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Fifteenthlie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edinburgh in ward, he answered: Surely I meant no euill to those men, but it was done in this respect: we had the matter of Bulzaine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had bene done. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiveness of them as I forgive all men.

Sixteenthlie, being required to declare if he knewe before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in deed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting alwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid John Durie and Walter Balcanquall did together call to God by earnest prayer, which being ended the earle said vnto vs (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartlie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in deed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praise you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne finnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I maie be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we trauelled to satisfie by long conference, which is too long to rehearse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were three things chafelie which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God contained in his word, whereunto

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it behoued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne servants, albeit they haue bene great sinners; as appeared in Dauid, Pagdalen, Peter, and the these, &c. Wherby the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, sayeng: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the five booke of Moses, Iosue, the Judges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I haue found there. I see that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in case sathan should trauell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of god courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a full man will not twise demand payment of that whereof he was alredie paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the bittermost farthing that God could crane, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Truelie it is verie god.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, soie, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to swallow vpon the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I do so. This being thus done, and he hauing in his hand a pretie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Bradford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladie Darnelton before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gaue it to maister Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing sundrie confessions vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said: I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherewith being called to breakefast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cheerefulness, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betwene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find anie rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laide vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. When he said vnto the steward, Will I am you can beare me record of this; who answered, It is true my lord. Then maister Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you

vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Truelie I will pledge you maister Walter on the same condition. After which he said, John Durie, now John I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time maister James Lawson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministerie, as maister James Lawson, maister Robert Point, Dauid Fargalone, maister Dauid Hensla, John Brand, maister James Carmichael, and maister John Dawson, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his arms, and said to him; Maister John you wrote a little booke in deid, but truelie I meant neuer cull towards you in my mind, forgive me, and I forgive you: vpon which words maister John was moued with teares. When all the brethren being present, the earle reported againe the cheefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the after noone, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministerie were informed that there was inuist report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Whereby they thought god to send down some before his suffering to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were Dauid Fargalone, John Durie, and John Brand, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come forth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with worldlie things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. When the keeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not staie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable prayer being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, minding to go directly to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie until his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Staie my lord, I praye you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie that I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue done nothing vpon anie particular quarrell against you. The earle of Forston replied, It is no time now to remember quarrels, I haue no quarrell to you nor to anie other, I forgive you and all others as I would you forgave me. And so after with a god courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, & adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

Thus

Sure I am the king shall lose a god seruant this date, and so he exhorted the people, saying: I testifie before God, that as I professe the gospel which this date is taught & professed in Scotland: so also now I willingly laie doone my life in the persecution thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according therunto as I ought, yet I am assured that God will be mercifull vnto me; and I charge you all in God which are professors of the gospel, that you continue the true professing and maintaining thereof to your power, as I would haue done God willing with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had liued: which if you doe, I assure you God shall be mercifull vnto you; but if you doe it not, be sure the vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in effect and more amplie before. When all these speeches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable prayer was made by master John Lawson, during the time of which prayer, the erle Morison laie groveling vpon his face before the place of execution, his bodie making great reboundings with sighes and sobes, being euident signes of the inward and mighty working of the spirit of God, as all they which were present, and knew what it was to be earnestlie moued in prayer, might easilie perceiue.

The prayer being ended, and sunbrie coming to him before his death, he did most louingly receiue them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humble (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound. And there master Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call vpon God; the erle continually cried vntill his head was stricken off, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: which words he spake euen while the axe fell on his necke. Now what soeuer he had bene before, he constantlie died the seruant of God. And howsoeuer it be that his foes alleged, that as he liued proude, so he died proude; the charitable seruants of God could perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: inasmuch that we are assured, that his soule is receiued into the ioies and glories of the heauens; and we praise God, that they which are behind, may learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. ¶ Thus far the confession & death of the erle Morison, penned by such of the presbyterie as were present thereat, and sauored him in all respects, seeking to clere him of anie euill imposed against him. In setting downe whereof, I haue not varied from the verie words of my copie in manner of penning it; but onelie in some few places of some part of the matter, the which I haue purposefully omitted, because it contained the affaires of state, and the accusation of diuerse persons now liuing; both which are neither needfull to be knowne to the common people, nor mete to be opened to others, thereby to bring those in question vpon a report, whereof there is no further hold to be had, than there was hate or loue betwene the accuser & the accused. Wherefore leauing the same discourse of the death of the erle (which fell vpon the second daie of June in the towne of Edinburgh) in that sort, penned by those of the presbyterie, to stand vpon the support of it selfe, I will descend to other matters.

This erle Morison married the old erle of Morisons yongest daughter, who being halfe an idiot brought forth no issue to this erle: but he notwithstanding, least he should die issuelesse, left behind him two sonnes, vnlawfullie begotten. Shortly after the death of which erle, Thomas Randolph esq<sup>uier</sup>

er being sent ambassadoz from the quene of England, entered into Scotland, whom (being honorable intertained) I will leaue there to dispatch the effect of his commission, and fall to that which happened. After the death of this erle Morison, in the winter following there was a parlement called, at what time manie noble men were created, as Ruthuen was made erle of Gowrie, Robert Stewart base brother to Marie the imprisoned quene of Scots was advanced to the honor and title of the earldome of Dykeneie, the lord Marwell was made erle Morison, and James Stewart was created erle of Arrane, the manner of obtaining which earldome of Arrane by the said Stewart being extraordinarylie procured, seemeth to me not to be forgotten: and therefore I will set it downe as I haue had intelligence thereof, in this sort following. The old erle of Arrane (the duke of Chateleaults eldest sonne and brother to John Hamilton the lord of Arbroth) being lunatique, and first committed to the custodie of his said brother the lord of Arbroth, was after taken from that his tutor, and set ouer to James Stewart to haue the ouersight of his person, and the ordering of his liuing. Which James Stewart being by nature and experience subtilly witted, and by auaritie and the kings fauor in great credit; found meanes partly by policie, partly by persuasion, and partly by flatterie, to wyng from the lunatique erle of Arrane, a grant and departure of all his right, title, and honor, to the lands and earldome of Arrane. Which when he had obtained of the said lunatique erle (who knew not what he did) he forthwith came to the said parlement or counsell house, or place of the assemble of the nobilitie, bringing with him the grant of the erle of Arrane: whereby he had infefted this Stewart with the lands and countrie of Arrane. Which matter being fullie vnderstood there by the nobilitie, supposing by right dealing to haue furthered the purchase of this earldome by Stewart, did then by the decre and the kings consent, effablly, and also inuett him in the lands, and with the title of the earldome of Arrane; which he obtained by such meanes as are before touched. Not vnlike vnto the course which Moridacke (made gouernour of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six) sometime vled for the obtaining of the earldome of Ross, from the daughter and heire of Alexander Lesle, intituled to the same earldome: the maner whereof I will here set downe *Verbatim*, taken out of Lesleus historie of Scotland, which deliuered the same in these words.

Breui post tempore Donaldus insularis Rossie comitatum vendicans, Hebridianos ad suas partes allicit: quo autem iure id fecerit hinc facillime liquebit. Walterus Lesleus vir nobilissimus, post insigne operam Romanis imperatoribus in extremo bello nauatam, in Scotiam rediens, filiam Gulielmi comitis Rossensis (in praelia apud Holidonum occubuit) vna cum comitatu, dotis loco in coniugem accepit: ex qua vnum filium sustulit, Alexandrum inde comitem Rossensem, filiamque, quae postea Donaldo Hebridiano nuptui data est. Alexander hic, filia Roberti gubernatoris in vxorem accepta, Euphemiam solam suscepit. Quae adhuc virgo & rerum imperita, gubernatoris partim blanditijs, partim minis inducta, translati in ipsum comitatu Rossensi, subito non sine gubernatoris opera (vt ferebatur) moritur: ac Donaldus qui amitam Euphemiae Alexandri Leslei sororem vxore habebat, hereditario iure Rossie comitatum petens, collecta ex Hebridibus ingenti manu in Rossiam venit: quam paruo negotio in ditionem suam redegit, Rossianis verum recipere haec non recusantibus. Thus much Lesle. ¶ Moreover at

K. r. liij.

the

The time  
when erle  
Morison was  
beheaded.

Thomas  
Randolph  
sent ambassa-  
dor into Scot-  
land.

James  
Stewart cre-  
ated erle of  
Arrane.



The duke of  
Lennox obtai-  
ned the earle  
Marston's  
lands.

the same parlement wherein this James Steward was advanced to the earldome of Arrane, the king gave unto the duke of Lennox the lands that were belonging to the foresaid beheaded erle of Marston, which lands this duke not long reteining, made over his part to the earle of Angus, in recompense whereof, the duke obtained of the king the lordship of Methuen, which came to the kings possession by the death of Henrie Steward lord of Methuen, touching whom Buchanan composed these verses follo-  
wing, calling him Regulum Methueniz, in this sort:

*Hic Henrice iaces primario in fure, dederunt  
Indole cui nullum secula nostra parem.  
Nemo fuit spes iudicij, cui credula certis,  
Sponderet tantum Marte togæque decus.  
Nunc pro spe, votis, expectatisque triumphis,  
Cura, dolor, lachryma, mestitidque subit:  
At tu, mors annis quantum detraxit acerba,  
Adjice de gazis posthuma fama tuis.*

A declaration  
of the Scottish  
faith, published  
and confirmed  
by the king.

During these creations of the nobilitie, in a par-  
lement holden in Edinburgh the eight and twen-  
tith of Januarie, in this yere one thousand five hun-  
dred fourescore and one, being the fourteenth of the  
kings reigne, were matters established, touching  
the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I meane  
not fallie to set downe the same, sith my pen and  
purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spiri-  
tuall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but  
flenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set  
forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stampe of  
Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in  
this yere of Christ one thousand five hundred foure  
score and six, we late that the same booke, published  
by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of  
the true christian faith and religion, according to  
Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by  
the kings maiestie and his household, with diuers o-  
thers, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this  
title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the  
inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Jesus &  
his holie gospel, to their naturall countriemen and  
to all other realms and nations, professing the same  
Jesus Christ with them, with grace, mercie, and  
peace from God the father of our Lord Jesus  
Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of  
saluation.

After which title and salutation, the substance  
of the same booke, being declared in the fore-  
head of the chapters following, containeth these heads:  
First of God, then of the creation of man, next  
of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of  
the promise of the continuance, increase, and pre-  
seruation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ  
Jesus, why it becommeth the mediator to be verie  
God and man, of election, of Christs death, passi-  
on, and buriall, of his resurrection, of his ascensi-  
on, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of good  
works, what works are reputed good before God,  
of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of  
man, of the church, of the immortallitie of soules,  
of the notes by which the true church is discerned  
from the false, and who shall be iudge of the do-  
ctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of ge-  
nerall councils, of their power, authoritie and cause  
of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the  
right administration of the sacraments, to whom  
sacraments appertene, and of the ciuill magistrat,  
of the gifts fraile giuen to the church.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that  
booke largelie and subciallie handled, both for the  
declaration of the faith of those people, and for the  
further instruction of others, were shortly after the  
agreement thereunto in that parlement confirmed  
by the king, and commanded to be published and

sed through his realme, as appeareth by this his fol-  
lowing precept, concerning the same.

The kings maiesties charge to all  
commissioners and ministers,  
within his realme.



Seeing that we and our household haue  
subscribed & giuen this publike confes-  
sion of our faith, to the good example of  
our subiects, we command and charge  
all commissioners and ministers to craue the same  
confession of their parishioners, and to proceed a-  
gainst the refusers according to our lawes, and or-  
der of the church: deliuering their names and lato-  
full proccesse to the ministers of our house, with all  
hast and diligence, vnder the paine of foure pounds  
to be taken from their stipend: that we with the ad-  
uise of our counsell, maie take order with such proud  
contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed  
with our hand at Holierood house one thousand five  
hundred foure score and one, the second date of  
March, the fourteenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus settled in Scotland, it fell herbypon,  
that Amies duke of Lennox, to which hono<sup>r</sup> he was  
not long before advanced, as is already set downe  
in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred  
threescore and ninetye, was now in this yere by  
on displeasure, conceiued against him by others of  
the nobilitie, banished Scotland, & enforced to re-  
turne into France, there to passe the rest of his life  
as he had done before. In whose erle was perfor-  
med an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag  
of five shillings should beare all the dukes of Eng-  
land and Scotland. For when this duke was out  
of the Scottish kingdome, there was neither duke  
in that countrie, or England. But as I greatly fa-  
uor not these things, so yet finding manie of them  
to sort to unhappie successe; I cannot altogether  
condemne them, especiallie, sith I find two other  
which concerning the last duke of England, being  
the duke of Summerfet, did prognosticat both the  
auancement of religion by him, and that he should  
not long keepe his head vpon his shoulders, after  
that he began to make his statelie buildings. Of  
which propheticall verses, declaring the same, the  
first verse expresseing his name, was as followeth:

<sup>a</sup> Cessabit missa cum regnat equa marina.

The other prophesie mentioning his name of  
hono<sup>r</sup> was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

<sup>b</sup> Aetatis sedes cum scandis ad alta per ædes,

Pro certo credes quod caput perdere debes.

And to proue that Summerfet was manie yeares  
past called in Latine Aetatis sedes, I find this  
matter in Roger Wall sometime an herald living in  
the time of Henrie the sixt, who named him accor-  
dingly, when the said autho<sup>r</sup> excusing himselfe of all  
eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse,  
sent his booke to D. John Summerfet to correct;  
which doctor being the kings scholemaster and phy-  
sician, a great learned man well sene in the mathe-  
matikes, one that had written much therein, and be-  
rie eloquent also, was as this Roger Wall thought,  
most mete to haue the oversight of his workes:  
which matter, as it is set downe in the latter end of  
the same worke of the acts of Henrie the sixt, writ-  
ten by this Roger Wall, I shall not graue (although  
they belong not, and be bitterlie impertinent to the  
matters of Scotland) to set downe, both because  
I would not matine the autho<sup>r</sup> in telling his owne  
tale, and would a little recreate the reader by the ob-  
scuritie of the stile of Roger Wall, with some varie-  
tie

1583

The duke of  
Lennox ban-  
ished.

A digression  
touching the  
duke of Sum-  
merfet.

<sup>a</sup> The mare  
of the sea,  
which backe-  
ward is sea-  
mare.

<sup>b</sup> Summers  
seat, or Sum-  
merfet.

Roger Wall  
submitted  
his worke to  
the censure  
of doctor John  
Summerfet.

the of other than Scottish matter: for Nihil tam dulce, quod varietas non reficit. These therefore be the words of that writer.

Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannosa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefeci: ad hoc immensa verecundia terrore ducta in lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & inuijs latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animositatis spiritum processura in lucem. Eia igitur consilij meis adquiescere non deferas: & meis monitis edocta, doctor gloriofum inuenies, qui Aestatis sedes gloriosum cognomen sortitus est. Hic Tulliani testamenti executor, purpura abisso quibus te vestiatur, bonorum Oratij ministrator, thelauris innumeris qui te ditet ac ipius opulentissimae imperatricis Rhetoricae custos, gazarum, & ararij gemmis pretiosis, quibus ruditatis tuae tenebras excutens, ipsum sydere politura perornare poterit, praeter ceteris copia pleniori floret & abundat, hic est qui coeli empei rei situi & mobilitatem, ac vacui, si quid extra ipsum reperiri possit: Chaos & confusionem primi mobilis, motus ac ornamenta sydereae, & actum per ipsum inferiorum rapinam planetarum, cursus erraticos in suis epicyclis & retrogradationibus intellectui multum difficiles, elementorum miranda coniugia, qualitates & actiuitates mutuas, omnium impressionum causas & effectus, & quicquid Aristotelicae demonstrationes seu Hippocratici aphorismi suadere sufficiunt, nouit, rimatur & intelligit. Hic est quod plurimum ponderandum existimo, qui regalis pectoris sacrarium tantarum virtutum, tantaeque literaturae imballauit aromatibus, & corpus regium ab aegritudinum incommodis seruauit incolume, qui semper reipublicae promotor & pauperum procurator extitit. En pagina vecors & misera tibi iutumae consolationis ministravi materiam. Esto igitur fortis animi, & vt virum tantum attingas, quem me docente reperies ad iter accingere. Verum quia dum regis assistit lateri, aut pauperum procurando negotia, aut reipublicae bonum promouendo, vel regiam celsitudinem salutaribus exhortando artis salutigerarum consilij sic sollicitus redditur, vt vix ei quietis indulgeatur horula infra domum regiam, reuerentiam suam sollicitare nolito praesumere, sed vsque ad mansionem suam propriam, quam per signa quae tibi monstrabo inuenies omnino expeditione ne pigriteris currere. Quum igitur iter tuum arripueris strata regia, qua per aliquot miliaria gradieris ad quandam semitam versus dextram, protensam non procul a quadam capella pulcherrima fundationis regiae in honorem sanctorum archangelorum Raphaelis, Gabraelis, & Michaelis, atque omnium angelorum sanctorum Dei, quam nuper procuratio sua construxerat, tritura multiplici se ipsum manifestantem ducet. In qua cum pauperum nudipedum ad suam domum confluentium impressa vestigia perceperis: & eorundem redeuntium pedum calcitatorum quos eleemosyna sua iam pecuali pelle vestijt inuenieris: & cum per eandem semitam nudos, esurientes & tristes ad habitaculum suum concurrentes prospexeris, & eosdem per suae charitatis liberalitatem vestitos, saturatos, & gaudentes obuio habueris, scito quoniam haec est via in tabernaculum ipsius, quem quaris ductrix infallibilis & directissima. Supplicia igitur pauperum pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Aestatis sedem velint ostendere, &c. After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of Aestatis sedes, in English Summerfet:

*Fertili Aestatis florida sedes,  
Morum multiplici luce resurgens,*

*Gloria doctorum gemma scientum,  
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicina,  
Pectore caelesti calica condens,  
Fraxidians alijs lumine mentis,  
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,  
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,  
Nec latet eiusdem mirae rapina,  
Quid flammis uoluit ignis in orbe  
Aereique sinu abdita nostri?  
Quae fluit & refluit (piscu opimum)  
Oceanum pelagus, quae pia terram  
Numina proficiunt prole feracem  
Naturae probitas, norma, potestas,  
Consilium, virtus, quicquid agatur,  
Clara luce tua mente coruscant.  
Haec cumulat tua lucida virtus,  
Mysarum sedem pectore regis,  
Et morum solium fausta parauit,  
Nec minus a regis corpore morbos,  
Funereasque minas cauta fugauit,  
Seruans illa sa gaudia regni,  
Et fortis inopum dextera larga.  
Corporibus nudis frigore pellis,  
Esurient furias & famis iram,  
Cogit in exilium prodiga mensa.  
Doctor qui tanta dote resurgens,  
Me miseram miserans intuearis  
Turpem complectere respice nudam,  
Incultam polias, reijce mendas,  
Vestes dilaceras confue clemens,  
Sint medicina tuis pocula Cirre,  
Quae tibi plus reliquis copia praestat,  
Et tua si pietas sordida purgans,  
Sit tergat maculas horrida limans,  
Vt me fortuna fata secundans,  
Inter plebeos forte remotos,  
Angelicum regis cernere vultum,  
Praestet me fausta sorte beatam,  
Et bene fatatam lata putarem,  
Nobilis haec doctor suscipe vota,  
Cuius virtutes, inclita gesta,  
Aeternis titulis summa perennet*

Thus hauing expressed the words and verses of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred yeares passed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerfet by the words of Aestatis sedes, I haue trauel bene the willinger to set downe the same by waie of digression (besides the former declared causes which moued me thereto) for that I would not suffer so woorthie a man as that John Summerfet was to be buried in oblivion. And for that I would in some part (as ante occasion may serue therfore) make this worke of Roger Wall more common to the world, being onelie now in the hands of one painefull antiquarie. Wherefore in that sort, leauing our Englishmen, let vs returne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating first of some thing done by them in the low countries, where one Steward a Scot, hauing had charge of men in some part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, vnder William of Nassaw, earle of Aurange, did now fall from the states of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in those parts) because the states did not paie to him and his soldiers their due spend and wages for the wars. At that time also the garison of Burels were for the like cause in an vppore. But some portion of monte being offered vnto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certaine Scot, called Lichtfeld, & surnamed Semple, being captaine of the garison of Aire, and long

*Surius in comen.  
de reb. in orbe  
hist. p. 4. 1062.*

The Spaniards obtaine  
Lire by a stratagem devised  
by the Scots.

impaid his sallarie, for those warres did in vaine  
manie times demand that monie due vnto him.  
Whereupon, imagining with himselfe how he might  
deceiue Hietfield the gouernour of the citie, as they  
had beguiled him in deteining of his due, he deuised  
with a new stratagem to bring this towne into  
the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore,  
feining himselfe that he would in the middelt of the  
night with his people go forth to bring home some  
great botlie for his and the townes benefit, he de-  
parted the towne, & late in the night gathered tog-  
ther a great prcie of catell, horses, oren, kine, sheepe,  
and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part.  
All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and  
then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him,  
whereby they with their botlie might enter all at  
once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to  
set the gates full abroad, onelie opened a little win-  
dow or doore, thereby to receiue Semple into the  
towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not  
finding all things to answer his expectation) feined  
that the enimies were hard at their backs, would  
kill them all, and recouer their botlie, vntlesse he did  
speedilie open the great gate, though the same to  
receiue them into the towne all at once. Then the  
porter beliening all this to be true, forthwith set o-  
pen the great gates of the citie; which done, the Scot  
entereth thre at, due those which kept the watch, pos-  
sessed the towne, & into the same recetued the kings  
souldiours, which were not farre behind, but secretlie  
laie in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By  
which meanes the Spaniards and their followers  
first wone the market place, and the next daie after  
the calendis of August reduced the whole towne of  
Lire vnder their owne subiection: the same Lire  
being a place well fenced, and set in such a conueni-  
ent soile, that it would prohibit all passage and car-  
age to come to Antwerpe, Sperehelme and Brurels.

Ambassadors  
fro the French  
into Scotland.

1583  
Ambassadors  
from the Scot  
to the French.

Lesleus lib. 6.  
pag. 210.

After this, much about the beginning of Sep-  
tember, monsieur de la Mot was sent from Hen-  
rie the thirde the French king ambassador into Scot-  
land, the outward effect of whose commission was to  
renew and conclude the old league of amitie be-  
twixt those two nations, as it had bene long conti-  
nued betwene them in times past, which done, he  
returned, well accepted by his French master. After  
which in like sort the king of Scots sent the lord  
Heton ambassador into France to the same king  
Henrie, which lord came to Paris in the beginning  
of March, and there remained about six weekes or  
more before he could find conuenient passage for  
him to returne into his countrie, because there was  
wait laid (as was supposed) to the end that he might  
haue bene intercepted by some of his enimies; be-  
fore he should haue attained the presence of the  
king his maister.

But now as a litle before I haue set downe the  
exploits done by the Scots in the low countries  
out of their owne nation, so I thinke it not amisse  
to adde to the same somewhat done by a Scot here  
in England, the summe whereof is after this man-  
ner. One William Creiton a Scot by birth, and  
a Jesuit by profession, which name of Creiton first  
came into Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thou-  
sand three score and six out of Hungarie amongst o-  
thers with Agatha, the mother of Paul the wise to  
Malcolme king of Scots, hauing travelled the  
most part of Europe, had conference with one  
William Parrie an Englishman, by waie of dis-  
course and argument touching such matter of trea-  
son as concerned the death of the quene of Eng-  
land. After which (Parrie being returned into  
England in Januarie following) this Creiton also,  
not farrieng long behind him, did come from the

parts of beyond the seas to take his fornie towards  
Scotland, who determining to passe through Eng-  
land, arrived here, was apprehended, & committed  
prisoner to the Tower of London, in such sort as  
before you haue heard that John Lesle bishop of  
Roule was seized by the duke of Bantier vpon suspi-  
cion, that the same bishop had dealt with the eni-  
mies of that prince against the state of his coun-  
trie. The cause wherefore the said Creiton was so  
committed, was for that he had about him diuerse  
plots for inuasions of this our realme of England.  
When he was thus prisoner in the Tower, William  
Parrie was after for the same treason apprehended,  
examined, committed also to the Tower, and final-  
lie executed on the second daie of March in the yere  
of our Lord one thousand five hundred foure score  
and foure. In the Februarie before which execution,  
sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secre-  
tarie to hir maiestie of England, came to the Tow-  
er, examined the said Creiton and dealt with him,  
to vnderstand if the said Parrie had euer had confe-  
rence with him in the parts beyond the seas touch-  
ing that question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir  
maiestie of England or not, the which at that time  
the said Creiton called not to his remembrance;  
yet afterwards vpon better consideration thereof  
it fell into his mind, where, when, & on what occasion  
such speech had passed betwene the said Parrie and  
him. Whereupon the twentieth daie of Februarie,  
in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred  
foure score and foure, during the time that Parrie  
also was a prisoner in the Tower, this Creiton  
wrote to maister secretarie Walsingham a volun-  
tarie letter penned all with his owne hand, which  
being already set downe in the historie of England  
is needlesse here to be repeated. Wherefore hauing  
thus said somewhat of this prisoner, we will leaue  
him still remaining in the same state, expecting  
some following successe of libertie to come to him,  
and returne our pen to the countrie of Scotland,  
thereof to set downe such occurrents as hapened  
from this time.

Creiton a  
Scot commit-  
ted to prison  
in England.

In March was renewed a great & old contention  
betwene the lord Marwell earle of Morton warden of  
the west marches of Scotland, and the lord of John-  
stane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded  
of an old enimitie begun in the time of Dowglas  
earle of Morton beheaded, as before in the yeare of  
Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and one,  
touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In  
which hurle burlie the lord of Johnstane behaued  
himselfe verie rigorously against the lord Marwell,  
in blowing vp with gunpowder the lockes of the cas-  
tell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after  
the death of Dowglas earle of Morton, continuing  
betwene the lord Marwell and Johnstane, with  
further increase of malice, they in this yeare sought  
a fresh reuenge thereof, with the lord Johnstane had  
not (before this) either power or meanes to incoun-  
ter with the lord Marwell. But now the ladie John-  
stane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of  
James Stewart earle of Arrane) obtained of the  
king some succors of men of warre against the lord  
Marwell earle of Morton, his husband (as was suppo-  
sed) not being able otherwile to make his part good  
against the same earle. Whereupon capteine Lamie  
and capteine Craneane were sent with two com-  
panies of hackbuts vnto the reliefe of the lord of  
Johnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the  
kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie therea-  
bouts to assist him with their power: which being  
had, he meant and therefore went to haue ioined  
with the said two capteins Lamie and Crane-  
ane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth  
quite

A contention  
betwene the  
earle of Morton  
and the lord  
Johnstane.

Ladie John-  
stane hath aid  
of the king.

quite contrarie to our determination. So the lard Johnstane was disappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whose headfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuises of his enemies, a needfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnstane, and wiselie (as behoued him) seeing what danger might rise vnto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to encounter, and iudging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischief, and to stop their passage, did prepare to pzenent all their deuises, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Marwell capteine of Langholme with some horsemen and footmen vnder the conduct of James Fraiser brother to the lord of Fulloth, which Robert meeting on Craiford mere with the foresaid capteins Lamie and Craneffane, before that they had ioined with the lard Johnstane gaue the charge vpon them, and that so fiercelie as they ouerthrew the whole strength of his enemies, Que Lamie, toke Craneffane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who sought their liues by the benefit of streng. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnstane, who desirous to be reuenged thereof, vsed the helpe of other meanes when he perceived that force would not pzenaile. And for that cause assembling such power as he had, he vsed the strength of one element against an other, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all speed he hastened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruellie spoiled, and in the same did burne certeine houses and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers trees, Duncoll, Cowhill, and such like. Wherevpon the earle Morton, who in like sort did not neglect his owne cause, but as opportunitie serued, sought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Johnstane, bitterlie spoiled them, and yet not so satisfied, committed to the fire both the castels of Louchhouse and Louchwood belonging to Johnstane, and sune sundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Johnstane, being persons of god sort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lord Manefraite, some of the sons of John of Johnstane of Holgill, with others. Which done, the earle Morton proceeded vnto further pursute, and determining fullie to reuenge himselfe vpon Johnstane, and his followers, forced the lard Johnstane himselfe to flee his furie. Wherefore he fled to a strong house called the Bonshaw castle belonging to Edward Ptwine of the Bonshaw, whome the earle pursued, and besseged in the same place, at what time he so battered the castell with artillerie, that the house was almost gotten. Which being perceiued of those within, not able to make further resistance, they fell to parlie, and so to composition; whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended betwixen them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scrope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Johnstane. But the coles of inward griefe being couered with cold ashes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie couered, but in the end began afresh to shew their fire. For the lard Johnstane falling from the said accord, vpon what occasion I know not, either for cause giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill disposition in himselfe, or for both, they burst forth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worst,

for the lard Johnstane, he was taken betwixen Linwall and the Warden ditch (where he was laid in ambush to haue performed some action against the said Robert Marwell comming from the towne of Dornfreies to Langham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings castell named Traife) being by the earle Morton appointed to encounter with the said lard Johnstane: which this baron was the more willing to do, because he intirelie loued the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

These things thus performed and the successe thereof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew so heauilie displeased with the earle Morton, that he was scarce able to susteine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the kings mind, when the king had supported the lard Johnstane with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exasperat the cause against him, and partlie by the persuation & lamentation of the ladie of Johnstane, whereof the last was enimie to the earle, as of dutie he ought in respect of his husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enimie besides all reason against earle Morton, because that Morton refused to exchange the baronies of Doke and Marwell betwix with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adioined nere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deuiered others of no lesse value and honor (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Kinneile for the same) yet Morton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yeld therevnto: as well for that Marwell betwix was his ancient inheritance, and the first land which his ancestors had, and whereof they toke the name of lord Marwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Marwells, who dwelling vpon these lands, would not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue bene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Marwells so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Marwell lard of Melwarke, and William Marwell lard of Doke.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parliament in spaie, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister cause to the king (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explanation of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherein he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publickly to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were vnder his gouernment, sith he was not bound therevnto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting forth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parliament enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the king seemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in seeking a certeine equalitie of gouernment in the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. Vpon which law established, the earles of Angus and Mar, with diuers others of the tempozaltie and the spiritualtie,

The lard Johnstane taken.

The king displeased with earle Morton for the cause of the lard Johnstane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton,

The Marwells would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.

Robert Marwell base brother to earle Morton sent against capteine Lamie.

Capteine Lamie & Craneffane ouerthrowen.

The castels Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnstane forced to flee.

The lord Scrope compounded the contention betwix earle Morton and the lard Johnstane.

as Andreis Meluine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were enforced for the vse of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselves from their countrie, and to flie into England there to vse the libertie of their religion, and to prouide for the safetie of their persons, who comming into this realme, made their abode and sojourned at Forwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discovered by Robert Hamilton unto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, whereupon some were summoned vpon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Dologlasse were summoned to the court vpon suspicion that they were consenting and conelcing to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Donthasell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Baithkist, Robert Hamilton of Inchmarchan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides which John Hopingell of the Shores was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Kaeier with the lord Spatus and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Donthasell and the lord Spatus were executed, with the lord Kathwine earle of Gowrie, treasurer of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before said made this following declaration vpon the said acts of parliament, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those lawes, with a further explanation also of the same lawes deliuered in that declaration with these wordes.

The kings maiesties declaration of his  
*acts confirmed in parlement.*

**W**hereas as much as there is some euill affected men that goeth about so farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to slander and impaire the kings maiesties fame and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had declined to papistrie, & that he had made manie acts to abolish the free passage of the gospell, god order and discipline in the church: which brutes are maintained by rebellious subiects, who would glablie couer their seditious enterpises vnder pretense of religion (albeit there can be no god religion in such as raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their natie soueraigne, and perturbedlie doth stand against the oth, band, & obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue subscribed) therefore that his maiesties faithfull subiects be not abused with such slanderous reports, and his highnesse god affectionat friends in other countries maie vnderstand the verities of his by right intention, his highnesse hath commanded this breife declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts of parlement holden in Maie one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, to be published and imprinted, to the effect that the indirect practises of such as slander his maiestie and his lawes maie be detected and discouered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approueth the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, presentlie by the goodnesse of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the faith set downe by act of parlement the first yere of his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praised be God) is come to that ripenesse of iudgement by reading and hearing the word of God, that his high-

nesse is able to conuince and ouerthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth that common wealth to be counted happy wherein a philosopher reigneth, or he that reigneth is a philosopher) we maie much more esteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a diuine, and whose hart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfort not onlie of his god subiects and friends in other countries but of them that professeth the gospell euerie where, he being a king of great wisdom, and by his birth right borne to great possession; but much more his highnesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and dallie increase of all heauenlie sciences, both promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties roiall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporal is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the fauour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing recetued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the miserie of the crosse and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie surelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chiefe and principall member appointed by the law of God, to see God glorified, vice punished and vertue maintained within his realme: and the soueraigne iudgment of a godlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to aspertheine to his highnesse care and solicitude. Which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion against their natie king by the insigation of sundrie vnquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andreis Meluine of a salt and fierie humour, vsurping the pulpit of Saundois, without anie lawfull calling, and priuie at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a fundaie, to inflame the harts of the people by odious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and counsell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their natie king, and not by popular sermons (which hath bene the euersion and decaie of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturb the countrie. The said master Andreis being called before his highnesse, presumptuously answered that he would not be iudged by the king and counsell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word or deed against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gracious prince) was not willing to haue be-



sed anie rigoz against the said master Andzew, if he had humble submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offense, and craued pardon: who notwithstanding afraid of his owne guiltinesse, being priuie to diuers conspiratozs before, fled out of the realme, whose naughtie & presumptuous refusing of his highnesse iudgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none should decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common prouerbe beareth *Ex malis moribus bona leges nata sunt*, which is, that Of euill maners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not anie right intolerable arrogancie in anie subiect called before his pzince, professing and authorizing the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apostles, or others (conducted by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to ascrime (as manie do) that pzinces and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters do onelie belong to the ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himselfe and his cleargie from all iudgment of pzinces, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie gouernours, iudges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitiue church, in which the emperours being iudges ouer the bishops of Rome, deposed them from their seats, appointed iudges to decide and determine causes ecclesiasticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the councell holden at Tirus, and by infinit god reasons which shall be set downe by the grace of God in an other seuerall worke, and shall be sufficientlie proued and verified. But this appereth at this present to be an untimelie and vnprofitable question, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie question of this land of heresie, whereby the profound mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched forth, his maiestie would vse the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperours haue vsed: and his maiestie following their example would allow the councell of learned pastozs, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such controversies in this land, neither hath anie heresie taken anie deepe root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, joining themselves to rebels haue travelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might embrace anie sinister opinion of his maiesties byright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take alwaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and god order might decaie; but rather to preferue, increase, and mainteine the same. And as there is in this realme, iustices, conestables, shiriffes, pzinces, bailiffes, and other iudges in tempoꝛall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be done in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preserved in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, where the place was vsed to be conuenient, twise in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the ministerie and their estate: alwaies reseruing to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them do amisse, neglect their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such manner and sort, that they in no waies pretend anie

immunitie, priuilege, and exemption, which onelie was inuented by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the scepter of pzinces, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie, vnder pretense of new inuented presbyteres, which neither should answer to the king nor bishop vnder his maiestie: but should haue such infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onelie his maiesties intention to repress, and not to take alwaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parlement dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parlement. Which act speciallie concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme, inuented in this land, called the presbyterie: wherein a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselves to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subiects, vnto the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, & altereth the lawes at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, subiect to a christian pzince. The perill thereof did so increase, that in case it had not bene repressed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the ouerthrow of his maiesties estate, the decaie of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath giuen commandement against the same. And that the reader may know the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby insue in this land, I will onelie set downe one, whereby they may vnderstand what perill was in the rest.

The ambassadoz of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the pzinces, bailiffes, and conestable of Edenburgh to make him a banquet, that he might be receiued honozable according to the amitie of ancient times betwene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the saturday by his highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselves on the sundaie in the morning, and presumptuously determined & agreed, that the ministers of Edenburgh should proclame a fasting vpon the same mondaie; where their seuerall ministers one after another made thre seuerall sermons, and inuectiues against the pzinces, bailiffes, and councell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie; who repared to the banquet at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarcelie by his maiesties authoritie could be withhelden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obteng onelie his highnesse lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Ius gentium*, requites towards ambassadors of foreign countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclaimed directlie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble: as may manifestlie appeare, in that the especiall author of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foresaid pretended presbyterie, hath joined themselves with his maiesties rebels; and streng forth of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, hath discovered what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not in time prouided remedie.

The

The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemble of the whole cleargie in the realme: vnder pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauourers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme: where there was no certeine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall conuention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succeded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

\* which is one of the estates of parlement.

This generall assemble amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his maiesties regents in his minozitie, that the estate of bishops should be mainteined and authorized, as is registred in the booke of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their contents appointed to their diocesse, vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundee, and Glasgou, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, toke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwritting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdiccions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings counsell or parlement, without commission obtained from their assemble: that they should confirme nothing in parlement and counsell, but according to their acts and instructions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the counsell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue effected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselves, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parlement and counsell, might be authorized in place of the estate: whereby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most goodlie, learned, wise, and experienced of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue bene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they discerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other appearance that they should haue steered from such daillie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continually be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they mainteined by the sword of cursing, was subject to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemble was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings throughout the realme; especially, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprise. For at the last, all the ministers were commanded by the assemble to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certeine great alterations

to haue ensued in this land; while at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discouraged, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath bene iustlie moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import to prejudicialle to his estate.

But especially his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemble being met at Edinburgh, did authorize and auow the fact perpetrated at Ruthuen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which deed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parlement accounted to be treason, the said assemble esteeming their iudgement to be the soueraigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approued the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemble, and the lawes of the estate directed, were in civil matter, with the which the assemble should not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemble, which in deed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall counells at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the emperour for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the empire. Vea the bishop of S. Andrews had not in time of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before by his highnes most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maie fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie diocesse or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discreet men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offense, worthy of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and execrations to follow therevpon: that they who contemne the goodlie and lawfull order of the church, maie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their desertings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and goodlie of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as apperteine to the vniiformitie of doctrine and conuersation of a goodlie order in the church, maie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable counsell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclaimed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentieth act ratifieth and approueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the ouersight and iurisdiction, euerie one in their owne diocesse: which forme of gouernement, and

and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apostles, by continuall succession of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truth: but also sith this realme embraced and receiued the christian religion, the same estate hath bene maintained, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, vntill within these few yeares, some curious and busie men haue practised to induce into the ministerie an equalitie in all things, as well concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusion his maiestie finding by most dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduise of his highnes estates, aduisedlie concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the sollicitude & care of all churches in one diocesse to appertaine to the bishop and commissioners thereof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his iurisdiction. For as it becommeth his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and vniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie should appoint euerie one to discharge his duetie: which his highnesse cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend and transgresse against duetie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it becometh his maiestie to haue bishops & ouerseers vnder him which maie be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing access to his maiesties parlement and counsell, maie intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propound their graces vnto his highnesse and estates, and receiue his maiesties fauourable answer therein. The which forme doth preserve a goodlie quietnesse, vnitie, concord and peace in the estate, and one vni forme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie diuideth the same, and vnder the pretense of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtil dealers to be advanced and enriched: and in pretending of partie, to seeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the rest of the simple sort.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath reestablished the said estate, it is not his highnesse will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to do within his diocesse what he pleaseth. For his maiestie cannot allow of anie popular confusion, wherein (as the proverbe saith) Nulla tyrannis equiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops auctoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the counsell of thirtene of the most ancient, wise, and goodlie persons of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblee of the province: by whose aduise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be governed to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnesse will and commandement, that their bishops and commissioners twise in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Easter, and the first of September, hold their synodall assemblees in euerie diocesse, for the keeping of god orders therein: and if anie be stubborne, or contemne within their

bounds the god order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their desertings. Forther is it his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onelie and full commission of his maiestie without admission or demur, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patron, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen anie of the said bishops or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous or offensive in their behauior, life, and manners, in time to come, it is not his highnesse will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding anie priuilege of his highnesse estate, counsell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall assemblee, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before; but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescribed in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastlie his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrie, the enterprize, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certaine number of the ministerie within those bounds, maie be most commodiously once in euerie fiftene daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all lawfull meetings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: so his maiestie is well affected to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commandement is, that a grate, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who maie haue the oversight of these bounds, and be answerable therfore to the bishop, his counsell and synod; and he to be respected reasonable for his paines, at the modification of his pends: that all things maie be orderly done in the church, peace & quietnesse maintained in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits & expresse forbids vnder the paines contained in his maiesties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrable at his maiesties sight & counsell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissioners, whereby his highnesse maie be certeinlie informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not, to meddle with anie ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall office: which his highnesse wisheth them faithfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie maie in a prosperous reigne enioie god and long life, and continue and increase in the feare of the almighty.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into sundrie heads as here followeth.

The kings intention drawne into  
certeine articles, and published  
in print.



ts maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the gospel, and preaching thereof within his realme.

2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and punish such as seditiously abuse the truth, and factiously apply or rather bewraye the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impairing of his highnesse and counsels honour.

3 His maiesties intention is, if anie question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godlie, wise, and experiented pastozs, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all heresie and schisme by that means expessed.

4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of god order in euerie paroch, certeine ouerscers to the god behalour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or visitour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie: in which a wise and a graue man selected by the bishop or commissioner at the synodall assemblee, shall render account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for which cause some respect of lining shall be had vnto him, who susteins that burthen.

6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie bishops, their counsels and synods: but if anie of them doe amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or state anie godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitive church, but that the ministers of the word meddle themselves onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not searfullie of the estate.

8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerated in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commissioner, and their counsels and synods.

9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble not anie generall assemblee out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and licence obtained therevnto: which vpon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an vniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and discussed.

10 It is his maiesties intention to assist this assemblee himselfe, or by a noble man of his counsell, his highnesse deputie.

11 It is his maiesties intention, that when anie paroch findeth necessitie of anie fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commissioner and their counsell, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull; as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may within the same, with his counsell prescribe anie publike humilitation.

12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclaimed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall counsell, wherein his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euerie diocesse with their counsell proceed into the ecclesiasticall gouernement, but as is said with a counsell, that both tyrannie and confusion may be auoided in the church.

14 It is his maiesties intention, that communi-

oners be directed vniuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a goodlie order, and that his maiesties commissioners take order presentlie for the translation of such ministers, whose trauels they esteeme may more conuenientlie and profitable serue in an other place.

These things was the king saine to publish, to state the euill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, which being nothing but that which seemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, should neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the due tie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But leauing the discourse of these things to preachers, to whome it belongeth to instruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrents of Scotland.

And yet before we speake anie thing of those matters, sith I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parliament, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parliament, and that the rather because the same consisteth of three estates, and the princes confirmation as our parliament doth, from whome it seemeth to me that they haue set their light. Touching which, Lessius in his Scottish historie lib. 1. pag. 75. vnder the title of *Leges Scotorum*, writeth in this sort. *Qui verò seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges descripsunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerunt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latine scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) præfigitur, quod ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiorum (quæ populari sermone parliamenta dicimus) acta inscribuntur. Quamquam hic aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sæpe fit) incidat quæ legibus nostratibus non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidendam necessarium censetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquisitè inuestigare, intelligat potestatem has ferendi antiquandique trium ordinum suffragijs liberè in publicolatis regis assensu confirmatis esse positam. Vn quibus parlements so assembled, consisting of the three estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblee is made, to keepe such parliament attired in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the ensignes of his kingdomes and kinglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) those common people will manie times giue such his names as seemeth best liking to themselves, and is most answerable to the nature & order of that parliament, as we also doe here in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbear, and onelie set downe one proofe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the same, least in passing it ouer without some example thereof, I might make a vaine shew of knowledge consisting in naked words, without anie sound matter. Wherefore I saie, that as in England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, the parliament*

The parliament of Scotland consisteth of these estates.

Parlements nicknamed.

The made parliament.

The running  
parlement.

Lesseus.

Lesseus li. 4.  
pag. 133.

ment held at Driford by the lordes against the king, was called Parliamentum insanum, because manie things were there intreated which turned to the death of diuerse noble men. So the Scots in like manner bynamed a parlement, in the yeare of Christ 1556, (being the fouretenth yeare of Marie the now imprisoned quene of Scotland) and called the same a running parlement, because there were manie intermissions and remouings during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Lesseus in these words. *Aestate sequenti habita sunt Edinburgi trium ordinum comitia, in quibus domini Bruntonius, Grangius, Balnauis, & alij nonnulli, quorum bona a gubernatore publicata fuerunt, singulari regis Francie commendatione dignati, famae atque bonis relicturi sunt. Hæc verò comitia quod intermissa, potius quam omissa, quasi continuarentur, nomen a vulgo acceperunt, vt currentia dicerentur.* Thus much being said about their parlements, let vs againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland, which followed the former parlement assembled in Maie, and moued the king to make that declaration thereof which I haue before set downe.

About the time that the earle Gowrie or Gowrie was as before is remembred beheaded, the king did roiallie set forward his iourneie, and possessed the towne of Sterling, in which the said earle was executed, hauing a sister married to Lesle earle of Atholl, and a daughter married to Stewart earle of Atholl. After the death of the said earle Gowrie lord treasurer of Scotland, the king bestowed that office vpon Grahame earle of Montrose, who had married the lord Dromonds sister, which name of Grahame is supposed to be deduced from Grahame, who in the yeare of Christ foure hundred twentie and two, resisted the Romans, inuading the Picts and Scots, for when Victorinus the Romane legat, had againe commanded a trench or fence to be made from the castell of Abincoigne to Clutde, the same was utterlie ouerthrowne and cast abroad by the noble capteine Grahame, of whome as is supposed the familie of the Grames living at this daie had their originall, the same place to this daie being called the trench of Grahame or Grames trench.

The tenth of September (after that he was sent for by the quene of England vpon certeine articles laid against him) did George Talbot erle of Shrewsburie (a graue and honourable person, who had Marie the imprisoned quene of Scots in his custodie at Sheffield castell) repaire to London according to his dutie, to answer those things which should be objected against him, who comming to London verte honorable attended on with his owne retinue, amounting to the number of two hundred horse, and with some few others of the quenes men, which were sent to bring him by, repaired to his house at Coleherbert in London, from whence in Nouember going to the court to answer the things to be objected vnto him, about the custodie and vsage of the same quene of Scots, which had manie yers bene vnder his charge, he answered the matter verie honourable, and to his good discharge, being then dismissed of the keeping of the same quene of Scots. During whose being here at London, the quene of Scots was appointed to the charge of sir Rafe Sadler knight banneret, a graue and old counsellor to the state of England, and chancellor of the dutchie of Lancaster, with whome was also ioined in the same commission John Summers esquier, cleark of the signet, a wise and modest gentleman, well sene in the languages, excellent at deciphering, and brought by vnder that worthie and rare witted gentleman, doctor Nicholas Wotton, of whome I haue spoken more in the historie of England. These hauing this

quene thus committed vnto them, bid (as persons careful of so weightie a charge) remoue hir to a place of good strength, and conuied hir to be kept in the castell of Tutburie, where she (not remaining long in their custodie) because they were remoued and others put in place, was afterward about Maie following, as anon shall appeare, committed to the charge of sir Aimes Paulet one also of the priuie counsell of England, hauing before bene ambassador legier in France, a person descended of an ancient and honourable familie, with whome vnder whose charge she still remaineth at this present in the said castle of Tutburie.

But to leaue that matter, we saie that about the tenth daie of Januarie following this discharge of the earle of Shrewsburie, sir Lewis Valentine knight, iustice, clerke, and maister of the ceremonies of the kings house, which office as I haue bene crediblie informed by a Scot (but how trulie I leaue to others) his father, his grandfather, and great grandfather before him, did intoe, and to whome most of the nobilitie of Scotland, either by affinity, consanguinitie, or alliance, were linked in blood, a goodlie yong gentleman about the age of thirtie yeares, was sent ambassador into England for the redeluerie and accusation of the erle of Angus and Marie, and the other nobles which were fled out of Scotland into England for a supposed treason wrought by them against their king, whose redeluerie was required of the quene of England, to the end the king might execute the law vpon them. In which his ambassage he behaued himselfe before the counsell of England so grauelie and learnedlie, that the said earles were sent for from Norwich (where they sojourned before his comming) to Westminster, there to answer to such things as should be laid to their charge by the said sir Lewis Valentine. Wherevpon after that the said ambassador had remained in England at London (honorable entertained and feasted of the nobilitie and others) by the space of seuentene weeks, he was dispatched into his countrie with answer, that his maiestie would shortly send an ambassador into Scotland which should fullie satisfie the king. Wherevpon the said sir Lewis Valentine departed from London on the tenth daie of Maie following, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred eighty and five, and so returned into Scotland; much about which time, as is before a little touched, was Marie quene of Scots, remaining in the custodie of sir Rafe Sadler in the castell of Tutburie, committed to the keeping of sir Aimes Paulet.

After this the quene of England the nineteenth daie of the said moneth of Maie dispatched in ambassage into Scotland, Edward Wotton esquier, a gentleman of good descent, and one whose ancestors had honorable & faithfullie serued manie princes of England, as well in the place of priuie counsellors, as also in manie ambassages into forren nations: which ambassador being of yeares not much more than the said sir Lewis Valentine, had traueled the most part of Europe, and had before time bene ambassador for the quene of England into Portugal. This gentleman so sent from the quene of England to the king of Scots, attended on by other English gentlemen, departed as is before said from London towards Scotland the nineteenth of Maie, who remaining at Berwick about thre daies, did there receiue his conduct from the king of Scots to passe into his kingdom; which once obtained, he presentlie entred that land on Whitson eue, being the nine and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Maie, and so came that daie to Edinburgh, being first at his entrance into the Scottish borders receiued

S. J.

ued



ued by the lord Hume and his retintie, who conuei-  
ed them to Seton house, where they were intertel-  
ned by the lord Seton: after which when the ambal-  
sador was departed about halfe a mile from the said  
lord Setons house, he was met with sir Robert  
Meluin knight, maister William Keith one of the  
kings chamber, and others, which conuerted him that  
night to Edenburgh. The next morrow (after that  
the English ambassadoz was come to the citie of E-  
denburgh) being Whitsondaie, the ambassadoz was  
after dinner brought to the kings presence, where  
he had full audience for the deliuerie of his ambal-  
sage, consistiing vpon the confirming of the old and  
concluding of a new league of amitie betwene the  
two nations of England and Scotland; which the  
king accepting in honorable part, did for that time  
dismis the ambassadoz, buttill the minds & consents  
of the nobilitie might be vnderstood and had. With  
which answer the ambassadoz then satisfied, toke  
leave of the king for that present, and remained still  
at Edenburgh some fortnight, interteined with  
sports of delights answerable to the course of the  
yeere, and the dutie of an ambassage. From thence  
the ambassadoz attending on the king was conuei-  
ed to Dumfermling, where the king remained some  
time to repose himselfe, progressing from thence to  
Falkland, and so to saint Andzews, hauing the am-  
bassadoz alwaies with him. When the king was  
come to saint Andzews, the noblemen and states  
of the realme repaired thither to hold a parlement,  
according to the former appointment.

But whilst these things did thus passe at saint  
Andzews, the time drew on, when the borderers of  
both the nations of England and Scotland should  
assemble according to the custome of the true daies,  
there to determine for recompense of all such in-  
uries as each people had offered to other, in conuei-  
eng of cattell or other bowties from their borders, for  
which cause there did about the sixteenth daie of Ju-  
lie assemble the people of both the borders, and the  
wardens of the same; at what time the lord of Fern-  
hurst warden of the Scottish borders, and sir Francis  
Russell knight lord Russell, and sir John Foster  
knight warden of the middle marches came with  
their companie to the borders of Scotland, not far  
from Berwikke, and so entred into speech with the  
Scots of such causes for which they repaired thither.  
After when the wardens were set vpon the bench to  
heare and determine the same, there did suddenlie  
arise among the people a contention, whereby fol-  
lowed at the first some small fraie, which being per-  
ceiued by sir Francis Russell, he arose from the  
bench and called for his horse, who meaning to ap-  
pease the matter, went amongst the pease. At what  
time a certaine number of shot comming on him,  
he was suddenlie, but most vniustlie, slaine with a  
peece amongst the rest discharged against him by a  
Scot bozne about that place (suspected by the most  
to be the brother of the lord of Fernhurst) contrarie  
to the nature of such assemblies, where each part  
should labor for quiet, with publike faith at such times  
are giuen, that euerie one shall returne home with-  
out anie damage or iniurie offered by anie side. The  
losse of which sir Francis Russell, being a gentle-  
man of great hope, was much lamented of the En-  
glish, and that especiallie with his vntimelie death so  
iniuriouslie (by the erle of Arrane, as the common  
sawie went) procured and so suddenlie performed, in  
the five and thirtieth yeare of his age, did bereaue the  
realme of England of a goodlie young person, well  
skiled in gouernement, bountifull, wise, and vertu-  
ous, whose death happening the daie before that his  
honorable father the earle of Bedford (being of the  
same christian and surname) departed the world, oc-

casioned T. G. first in Latine, and then in English,  
to set downe certaine funerall and morning verses  
touching both the father and the son in these wordes:

*En duo Francis subitò occubere, simulque  
Et pater & natus, Russella splendida stirpis  
Lumina, quos binos mors abstulit atra diebus:  
Londini, comitem prouecta aetate parentem,  
Finibus ac Scotia natum florentibus annis,  
Ille perit morbo, insidijs cadit alter iniquis:  
Dum miser occulta traiecit viscera glande  
Incantè Scorpius, heu ficta sub nomine pacis.  
Occidit ante patrem, non multis filius horis.  
Anglia magna tibi est rapti iactura parentis,  
Nec leuis est nati, de quo spes optima fuisse.  
Quis scit an irati foret hæc vindicta Iehoua,  
De vitij panas dum nostris sumit acerbus?*

The English whereof is in this forme drawne in-  
to verse by the first autho: of them T. G. in this sort:

Lo Francies twaine at once  
both suddenlie are gone:  
Two shining stars of Russels race,  
the father and the sonne.  
Whom in two daies vntimelie death  
hath from vs caught awaie:  
The earle in London natures debt,  
the father old did paie.  
The sonne his heire, lord Russell hight,  
of courage fresh and yeares:  
On Scotish borders lost his life,  
whose want now well appeares.  
The father did by sicknesse die,  
the sonne through fraud vniust:  
By Scotish hand with gun was slaine,  
whilst nothing he mistrust.  
The sonne before the fathers death  
not manie houres was slaine:  
Great is thy losse, O England, of  
these peerelesse nobles twaine.  
Thy fathers worthie vertues late  
knowne well (and long) to all:  
From fathers steps the sonne great hope  
gaue that he would not fall,  
Who knowes if God the Lord of hosts,  
this punishment doth send:  
Our sinnes so great thereby to scourge,  
and wicked liues amend?

Of which erle of Bedford (hauing occasion to men-  
tion him in this place by the death of his sonne) I  
suppose not amisse to saie somewhat more, especial-  
lie concerning such matters whereof he was a dea-  
ler with the imprisoned quene of Scots, when she  
was at libertie and in hir best estate.

In the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred  
and thre score, Francis the french king died at  
Orleans in the kalends of December. After which,  
in the yeere following, Marie the quene of Scots,  
Dowager of France and widow to the said Fran-  
cis, sojourned a certaine time in France about Jan-  
uillie and Lyeine, where the chiefe part of hir friends  
& kindred (being of the house of Guise) did remaine,  
during whose abode in France, and before she went  
into Scotland: this earle of Bedford and sir Rich-  
las Throgmorton (ligier ambassadoz in France for  
the quene of England) were sent vnto the quene of  
Scots to conclude with hir, that the agreements  
and conditions of peace, which were established a lit-  
tle before at Letty should be established by hir con-  
sent. Wherevnto for answer she affirmed, that she  
could not determine anie thing therein, vnlesse  
that she were present with the nobilitie of hir king-  
dome, to whom the administration of the realme of  
Scotland was committed at the intreatie of the  
English. And that when she was in Scotland, where  
by Gods good furtherance she hoped shortly for to  
be

he, the would earnestlie trauell all the might for the establishing of all good conditions of peace. Againe when the king of Scots now liuing was by his godfathers to be taken from the font and to be regenerate in Christ, in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred thre score and six, being the fourth and twentieth yere of the reigne of the same Marie quene of Scots, this earle of Bedford as ambassadoe from the quene of England, was sent to the quene of Scots by waie of deputiship to present the person of his mistresse requested to christen the yong prince of Scotland. At what time this earle of Bedford presented, in the behalfe of the quene of England, one font of gold curiously wrought, weighing thre hundred thirtie and thre ounces, and amounting in value to the summe of one thousand fortie thre pounds & nine shillings. Thus this much spoken by the way of the earle of Bedford.

The report of the death of sir Francis Russell before mentioned, came to the knowledge of the said Edward Motton, as yet remaining ambassadoe in Scotland, and then lieng at S. Andrews: whereupon the ambassadoe went to the king, and opening vnto him the iniurie done to the English by the procurement, as was thought, of James Steward erle of Arrane then chancelor: he obtained that the king (finding the matter to sound both to reason and iustice) did command the said earle to prison, where he remained some time, and was after at the rate of William Steward brother of the earle, upon the kings removing from saint Andrews, released from the prison, and committed to restraint in his owne house, vntill such time as he had cleared himselfe of the same imposed crime, and cause of breach of amitie betwene the two nations of England and Scotland. During which imprisonment of the earle of Arrane, the former appointed parliament or assemblie at saint Andrews was holden by the king & the nobilitie there gathered together, which were Graham earle of Montrose treasurer of Scotland, Robert Steward erle of March sometime bishop of Cathenesse, and now prior of S. Andrews, great vncle to the king and to the yong duke of Lennox, Keith erle marshall, Leslie erle of Rosyth, Steward earle of Atholl, & Patrike Constance archbishop of S. Andrews, with diuers others. Amongst whom the king opening the contents of the ambassage sent out of England for the concluding of the league betwene the two nations, vied vnto them this following speech, wherein declaring the opinion he conceived of the religion, the necessitie of the joining with England, the twoyn league of other nations against the professors of the gospel, and the reasons which induced him to moue this matter vnto his people, all which he uttered in this sort.

#### The kings speech to the estates, concerning a league in religion with England.

**W**ho causes my lordis and ye all of the estates haue moued me to send for you at this time to craue your aduises towardis them, quharof sith the one is generall & the other particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greatest weight. Amongst all the benefites that God doth bestow vpon his elect and church, the trial and sifting of the god chosin from the bad hypocrites, is one of the most speciall, which he hath vied in all ages for the separatoun of thame, aswell for that to lang companie of the wicked doth corrupt the goodie, as also that their separatoun is a taken in this earth, of Godis loue towardis them, quhich trial he doth now cheeke vnto, for that the number of the wicked doth abound in these latter

dais, quherin God doth permit the deuil most to rage. For quhat greater trial of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the bassard christians, I meane the papists, in a league quhich they terme holie, albeit most unholie in varie truth, for the subuersioun of the trew religioun in all realmes throug out the quhole world. This is a matter so manifest and notorious to you all, euen by the report of the smallest merchantis that traueill, as it doth dilate the selfe, thought I were silent.

This leagues whome of I speake, are composed of Frenchmen, and Hispaniols, assisted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, solemnlie swoyne to performe the foresaid enterpise before they leaue armes: the performance quherof we ought to resist for thre causes (to wit) for conscience, honor, and loue of selfis. For gif they may attaine to their purpose (as God forbid) either will they destroye or rot out vs, our bisshes, and childrein, & quhatsoeuer we possesse, gif we remaine constant; either else must we render Christ Iesus, and suffer our sanlis which is the most nablest part of man to be bund with the bundis of idolatrie, and our bodie to be vied at their inordinat pleasures. But sith the loue of our selfis and our honour cannot permit the one, and that our consciences and the reuerence we ow to God, cannot suffer the other: I craue my lordis your best and soundest opinions and aduises quhat ye thinke meetest to be vied for the remedie hereof. But gif ye desire to haue first my opinioun, it is this in few wordis; that as sondrie christian princis haue already counselled me, our contraleague salbe maid, not anelie in termes, but in effect holie, for the joining togidder all true christian princis to defend themselves, in case of otheris inuasioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitfull for selfis, acceptable to God, and wise in the sight of the world. By this meanes shall our consciences, honor, and lifis be preferred, and God and his religioun glorified and aduanced.

And sith the quene of England is not anlie a true christian, but also nereest ioint to vs in neighborhood, consanguinitie and goodwill, I thinke it meetest in mine opinioun, that it be our league first & maine aduerialie maid with hir; for quhich cause I haue maid & set downe a forme of act to be subscribed by you all, quherin ye promes to ratifie and approve in parliament, quhatsoeuer articles I, or anie in my name shall conclude with the quene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and the effectuating of the foresaid league. But for that the act it selfe will mare ample informe you, it salbe presentlie read in all your audiencies.

Upon this speech, the lords being of diuerse opinions, some willing to embrace the league with England, and some desirous to leaue it, and to ioine in amitie with France according to the most ancientest leagues, which haue bene established betwene them and the Scots (by most of their former kings, whereof the first was Athaus, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmatioun thereof, which was the floure belices added to the armes of Scotland) there was nothing done in that conuention. After which, the banished lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: the manner and time of the entrance of which nobilitie was in this sort.

Towards the latter end of September, the earls of Angus and Spar, with such others of their faction as were in England, did (after that they had long before this, sent thither the maister of Clames out of England to prepare their waie, which he did verie effectualle) returne into Scotland; at whose coming

ming into that their native countrie, there met with them about the borders, manie others of the nobilitie to ioin in one action, for the redresse of such gouernment as was vsed by persons about the king, suspected to nuzell him in the Romane religion. After this their first meeting, they did by appointment disperse themselves, euerie one to the place of his most strength, and where he could make most friends and followers, appointing a date to mete againe at Fawkirke, a mete place fensed by nature for the assemble of an armie. Whereupon, some departed to Lothlyan, some to Domesfreis, and others to other places. But in short time following, they reassembled in October at Fawkirke with such power as they could make, which amounted to the number of ten or eleuen thousand persons. The report wherof was brought vnto the king, then remaining at a noble mans house (not far from Sterling) whereas a contract of marriage was solemnized. Upon which, the king supposing it to stand most for his suretie (iudging these noblemen so assembled to be his enemies) conuened himselfe, and such nobilitie as were with him to Sterling, raising power (such as the present state of the time would permit) intending with them to haue subdued the earle of Angus and his companie: for which cause also, the earle of Arrane came from his house to Sterling, and the maister of Greie with commission robe to saint Johns towne to assemble the kings subiects.

After that the earle of Arrane was come to Sterling to the king, the earles of Angus, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, Marthall, the lords Hamilton, Hume, Heres, Cambuskeneith, Dribourgh, Dalkeith, & Coldingham; the lairds of Sessford, Drumlarige, Codrineswies, Wedderburne, with other earles, barons, gentlemen & commons, with their friends & complices, marching all night from Fawkirke, did in the next morning come to saint Martins chapell within a mile of Sterling, and presented themselves before the towne of Sterling, before any suspicion was had of their approach so nere. At what time, being the first of Nouember, they pitched their tents, placed there as it had bene a new towne, to the great terror of their enemies within Sterling: declaring for the cause of their coming this proclamation following.

The proclamation published by the nobilitie of Scotland, containing the causes of their repairing towards the towne of Sterling to the kings maiestie, the second day of Nouember.

**W**heras the kings maiestie our soveraignes god, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainlie vnderstood to haue bene abused, and his rotall qualities given to him by the almightie God (which caused his fame far above the capacite of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praised, to the great comfort of all his subiects) hath bene these yeares past obscured by the craft & subtiltie of some lewd and wicked persons of no desert or worthinesse, and for the most part of base linage, not bozne to one sot breadth of land, yet of maruelous aspiring wrongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendship and bloud creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking onelie their owne particular profit and promotion: shaking off (as it were) not onelie all christian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie vsed amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtill foxes and bloudie wolues, by wresting of lawes and

other deceitfull practises, hath so wasted, toyne in pieces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iustice and policie receiued of our ancestors, remaineth nothing, neither in spirituall or temporall estate; but the naked shadow & counterfeited maskes thereof to our soveraignes high dishonour, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie griefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne that iustice and quietnesse was in the realme, that heartie lone betwixt his maiestie and his subiects, that beautifull countenance the church of God had, that daile hope of increase, that expectation was of his highnesse in forren nations, before the arrivall of Dbigneie, afterwards called the duke of Lennox, and the entring in credit of James Stewart, and coronell Stewart with their unhappie companies. But what hath succeeded since no true Scottish heart can remember without extream dolor: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replenished with particular enmities, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisest of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subiects, & to keepe the strengths of their realms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preserve themselves against such inconueniences, as manie princes of that land misgouerned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue bene subiect vnto) that the foresaid abuses had depriued his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them laie. For the cheefe strength of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who bagging of his pedegree by descent from duke Morbach (one that was beheaded for his treason against his soveraigne) was not ashamed to saie (meaning of himselfe) Here stands the person of king James the seventh. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made vnable to punish them, if at any time hereafter he should perceiue their false and treasonable doings, what can be added more than these said seditious hath already done in that behalfe, sacking vnder his maiesties name and authoritie, such parcialitie is vsed in all matters, such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good subiects (vpon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before these lewd men about him) clarelie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agone by vniuersall male-contentment of the people (procured from the causes aforesaid) procured a great distraction of the kings legges hearts, and had cast his maiesties honour, crowne, and estate in marvellous danger, whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subiects are certeinlie perswaded, that if the said lewd persons could be separated from his maiestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnesse in euerie respect, which hath bene these yeares past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & scke for their particular commodity, the destruction of certeine seuerall persons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

The worthiest and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue giuen best proofe of their forwardnesse in true religion, and fidelitie to their soveraigne) are by parcialitie, and wresting of lawes, without mercie either executed, consigned, imprisoned,

prisoned, banished, or at the least debarr'd his maiesties presence, against the ministerie, scholes, and clergie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercises, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlements, proceedings, or at the least by laudable custome permitted euer since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiasticall discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie and examine the lines, maners, and knowledge of euerie person, and to reforme the same if need require. With this the most learned, and of most vnspotted liues of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and consciences to abandon their countrie, or else inhibited to preach, or deppriued of their stipends, Jesuits, seminarie preests, and such as be knowne practisers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie counsell of Trent are interteined, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in session, to occupie the places from the which the most godlie and faithfull senators haue bene by them detected. An euident presage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the estate of burrowes, by intrusion of such magistrates to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgeses, nor apt to discharge themselves of such offices, but men elected to applause and to consent to the appetite of the seditious aforesaid, their priuileges and ancient liberties are so preiudged, that without timelie remedie, that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenlie decaille. So as these three pillars (whereby the king and commonwealth should be preserved) and upholden) being wasted and undermined in manner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuersall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the estate; except God of his mercie preuent the same. Besides all these, the aforesaid abuses not resting content with the enormities aboue expressed, haue practised, and daily doe practise to turne the happy amitie and loue, which now a good space hath stood betwene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hostilitie and hatred, without respect of neighborhood or kindred, standing betwene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that hir maiestie of England hath bestowed vpon the king our soueraigne, and his whole countrie, first by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by persecuting his maiestie, when as in his minority he could not take in hand or enterpryse for himselfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with such persons, as by all meanes sought hir maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie hir maiesties rebels lately executed in England is made manifest. But how soon they perceived open danger to arise, by open dealing with hir enemies, then fraudfullie to include hir maiestie, they haue pretended these months past, in great friendship and kindnesse, promising largesse in that behalfe, and offering to capitulate a band offensive and defensive to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberall promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue bene in their minds but falshood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whole world, who being a yong noble man, for his birth and qualities verie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and god affection to the king our soueraigne, and to all Scottish men in generall, one that merited great praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable manner, euen when as greatest kindnesse and friendship was pretended; which cannot but produce mar-

uellous suspicion and slander, aswell against the king our soueraigne, as against the whole countrie, to his maiesties great dishonor, and discredit of his innocent subjects, if condigne iustice be not ministered vpon the authors and the executors of the horrible crime aforesaid.

Last, which is most of all, and necessarilie crantly present reformation, the aforesaid abuses couer all these enormities with his maiesties name and authority, thereby thinking to excuse themselves, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie slanderous and dangerous to his maiestie, if such licentious persons (who hath already made shipwacks of all honestie) be suffered to remaine in his companie, so is it shamefull to be reported in other nations, that such a few number of beggerlie fellows replenished with all vice, should extinguish the beantie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, & keepe his maiestie thall to authorize by his roiall power their abhominable and execrable facts. For the causes aforesaid and manie others that might be iustlie alleged, we of his maiesties nobilitie here present, in the feare of God and our soueraignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be professors of the blessed euangel, and bozne counsellors to his highnesse our soueraigne, bound in duetie not onelie to hazard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the same euangel and true religion, but also in conscience charged to be carefull of his maiesties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maiesties most noble progenitors of worthie memorie.

In consideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our selues together for redresse and reformation of the same, seeing the suffering thereof hath already wounded the estate of true religion, dishonored his maiestie, disturbed the whole realme, and had almost disioined aswell the hearts of the princes as of the subjects of the two nations, we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conscience (all doubt and perill set apart) to procure the separation and thrusting awaie of the said desperate and enorme persons from about his maiestie, that his highnesse being restored to his former libertie, maie free, peaceable, and wiselie gouerne his subjects and realme, by aduise of graue, modest, and indifferent counsellors; onelie respecting his maiesties suertie and preservation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in preiudice of the same, maie be solemnlie cancelled, and for euer annulled, his maiestie restored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by punishing of vice chedie vpon the authors of these late misorders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once disburdened of the heauie oppressions and iniuries that they haue with no small graue so long sustained, and the happy amitie with England reestablished and conserued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our soueraigne, and vniuersall contentment of all god men euerie where. In prosecution whereof, we protest before God and his holie angels, we shall neither spare our liues, lands, nor goods, but franklie hazard and expend the same as need craveth, untill the said abuses be either apprehended or presented to iustice, to suffer for their demerits, or else (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarr'd from his maiesties companie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our soueraignes lords name) all and sundrie his subjects, as well

well to burrow as to land, to fortifie and assist this godlie enterpryse, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue testimonie of their affection to the advancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme, certifieng all and sundrie that doo attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one sold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, offenders of the treasonable conspiratozs aforesaid, and enemies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authoritie, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, and will vse them in bodies and goods accordinglie. And that all iustices as well lordes of sessions as shiriffes, commissioners, and other inferior iudges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the lawes of the realme, as they will answer vpon their allegiance and vttermost perill, with certification of the disobeis as is aforesaid.

This assemble of the nobilitie, and the proclamation thus knowne, the earle of Arrane and others which were in Sterling with the king, placed foure hundred men vpon the walls of the towne to defend the assault. But the earle of Arrane chancelor, knowing that he was the principall person, against whome they directed their force, did secretlie without anie other companie flee from thence to Dunbartaine, escaping the hands of the lordes of the religion, whereupon small resistance being made by such as were within Sterling against the assailants, using their force by the space of two houres, the earle of Angus and the rest did quietlie enter Sterling and all parts, which being perceiued by such of the nobilitie as were within the towne, they (as the earle of Montrose, Crawford, Rothesse, Glencarne, Arroll and the Colonell) fled to the castell whither the other faction did chase them. Now when the lordes of the religion (for so they of the presbyterie terme them) had fullie gotten possession of the towne of Sterling, they placed their ensignes before the foreblockhouse of the castell, and so ordered the matter, that there was no waie for anie in the castell to escape their hands, for they had by strength inuironed the same, and by siege brought it as some said to that extremitie, that they within were in great default of vittells. Whereupon the king (after agreement made, that persons on each part might passe betwene to compound the matter) sent forth of the castell vnto the lordes of the religion, the maister of Greie his secretarie and sir Lewes Ballentine, iustice Clarke (deputie to the earle of Argyle chiefe iustice of Scotland by inheritance) and colonell Stewart, desiring three petitions of his nobilitie; the first whereof was, that his life honor and estate might be preferred; that the liues of Crawford, Montrose and the Colonell, might be preferred; thirdlie, that all things might be transacted peaceablie: on which conditions he would hereafter be ruled by their aduise and counsell. Wherevnto the noble men answered, first that the lord knew that they neuer had anie other intention but to preferue his noble person, his honor and estate, and to deliuer his maiestie out of their hands, who vnder his name had so grieuouly oppressed the church and commonwealth, and therein hazarded as well his life and crowne, as the danger of other of the nobilitie. Wherefore they were onelie there assembled in the feare of God, and loue to his person and their countrie, wholie to endeavour themselves to shew the performance of their obedience and dutie vnto him, and so to shew themselves faithfull and good subiects.

To the second point they answered, that where

the liues of such were desired to be preferred, which had disturbed the whole kingdome, and bene instruments of the great confusion in the church & commonwealth, they could do no lesse in respect of the loue and dutie which they bare to the king and their countrie, but vse all meanes possible to bring them to the triall of iustice, thereby to receiue the reward of their demerits. And for the third they would most humbly craue of his maiestie, that these things might be done in most peacefull maner in due time required therefore, whereby all his good subiects might be satisfied, towards the execution whereof they offered their assistance, with the vttermost of their endeavour, because they were assembled and come thither for the doing thereof.

Besides which at the returne of these commissioners, the nobilitie exhibited other three petitions vnto the king, whereof the first was, that the kings maiestie would allow of their intention, subscribe their proclamation (containing the declaration of their cause) vntill further order were established by the estates, and so agree vnto the reformation of the premisses, & that all the common holds & strengths might be rendred into their hands to be kept as the counsell of the ancient nobilitie should appoint, who were there in good number assembled. Secondlie, that the said disquieters of the common-wealth might be deliuered into their custodie, vntill they had receiued their due triall by the law. Thirdlie, that the old gard might be remoued and an other placed of modest, wise, and godlie men. Which petitions being so to the king exhibited, the first was vpon diuers considerations granted, and the castles Dunbarton & Kinelle were assigned to the custodie of John lord Hamilton; the castell of Edinburgh was committed to sir James Hume of Godenholles; the castell of Sterling was refozed to the earle of Sparre, to whome the custodie thereof did belong by descent of inheritance; the castell of Blacknesse to the lord of Dalkeith; Tantallan and Dowglas were deliuered to the earle of Angus. Touching the satisfaction of the second request of the lords, the said earles of Crawford, Montrose, Glencarne, Rothesse, Arroll, and colonell Stewart, the lords Seton, Levingstone, Greie, Sumnerwell, sir William Stewart brother to the earle of Arrane, and William Stewart capteine of Dunbarton (who had bene taken in the towne of Sterling, when the lordes of the religion entred therein) were committed to the safe custodie of manie noble men. For the performance of the lords third petition, the old gard was immediatlie remoued, & the maister of Glames was appointed by the consent of the whole nobilitie capteine of the gard, with such gentlemen as the nobilitie and he should chole of those which are already entred into their places and offices.

In the meane time, as is before touched, James Stewart earle of Arrane did at the entring of the lordes of the religion into the towne of Sterling, flee to the castell of Dunbarton, where he was inclosed, as well by sea as by land, without anie great store of vittells. The bishop of saint Andrews was taken by the scholers of the vniuersitie, and yong men of the towne aforesaid (as was said) to be presented to iustice into the hands of the lordes of the religion; and so all capteins were set at libertie, the banished ministers called home (though manie of them still remained in England) and refozed to their former offices, dignities, and livings, and the Iesuits and seminarie priests wonderfullie amazed, who were willinglie minded to flee disguised in martners attire into the parts beyond the seas. Thus the king granting the requests of the nobilitie, and yielding

The lords of the religion exhibit three petitions to the king.

The king granteth the requests of the lords.

Noble men committed to custodie.

The kings gard remoued and anew placed.

The bishop of St. Andrews taken.

The ministers called home.

The Iesuits ready to flee Scotland.

The earle of Arrane fleth.

The earle of Angus entereth Sterling.

The castell of Sterling besieged.

The king sendeth to the lords of the religion.

The answer of the lords of the religion to the kings demands.



The king in  
the custodie of  
the lords of the  
religion.

William  
Knolles sent  
ambassador into  
Scotland.

The earle  
Bothwell  
made chan-  
celloz.

James Ste-  
ward earle of  
Arrane mar-  
ried to the  
widow of the  
erie of March.

to the state of the present time, committed himselfe  
to the protection of these lords of the religion remain-  
ing in their custodie, after that they had once en-  
tered the castell of Sterling.

Whereupon much congratulation being made  
for this returne of those banished lords into Scot-  
land, the quene of England having intelligence  
thereof, did send hir ambassadoz William Knolles  
esquire marshall of hir bench into the parts of Scot-  
land, to understand the parts thereof, and of the man-  
ner of the proceeding of these noble men with the  
king: which ambassadoz after his abode and hono-  
rable intertainment in that countrie, returned  
home in December following. In which moneth  
there was a parliament called at Lithgo, for the full  
ratifying and confirming of the restitution of these  
lords of the religion: at what time the earle of Ar-  
rane was displaced both from his earledome of Ar-  
rane, and office of chancellozship: and the earle of  
Bothwell was admitted to that office of lord chan-  
celloz. Besides which also the custodie of the luna-  
like earle of Arrane, sonne of the duke of Chate-  
rault was taken from the same James Steward  
earle of Arrane, and committed to John lord Ha-  
milton lord of Arbroth, and brother to the lunatike  
earle, sometime remaining in the wardship of the  
said John Hamilton, before that the same James  
Steward had gotten the possession of that lunatike  
earle into his owne hands, out of the custodie of the  
same John Hamilton.

But somewhat to leave the lunatike earle in  
safe keeping, we will speake a litle of this James  
Steward earle of Arrane, and of his wife, who  
being a woman of delight of change in marri-  
age, was (after the second shipwracke) married  
to this earle of Arrane; for she being one of the  
daughters of the earle of Atholl, was first married  
to the lord Louet. After which, iudging it better to  
marrie than to burne (although by the sequels of the  
same she felt small contentment therein) she bound  
hir selfe with the knot of matrimonie unto Robert  
Steward earle of March and bishop of Cathnesse;  
but after finding occasion of divorce, the contenti-  
on and sute thereof continued verie long, from the  
said earle, she was in the end separated; and then  
the third time bestowed hir selfe in marriage upon  
this James Steward earle of Arrane, by whome  
she had issue diuerse sonnes and daughters, the el-  
dest whereof the king took from the font and christe-  
ned.

Thus leaving this erle of Arrane for this time, I  
thinke it not amisse in this place to step aside from  
the matters of these present times; and herein at  
the aduancement of this earle Bothwell to be lord  
chancelloz of Scotland, to record some things touch-  
ing some such persons as haue (to my knowledge  
by reading of Scotish histories) possessed that office  
of chancellozship before time, as in an other place  
before at the mention of an other chancelloz I haue  
discourfed of the originall and deriuation of the  
name of that office. In which this my discourfe of  
the succession of chancelloz, although I shall set  
downe but few persons in number, I can not make  
a full continuance of their orderlie succession, from  
their first institution vnto this date: yet I suppose it  
better to mention those which haue come vnto my  
hands, thereby to occasion others hereafter to treat  
more liberallie of such honorable officers, than to  
terleue to drowne them in the pit of forgetfulnesse.  
Which treatise of the chancelloz I am the willing-  
er to deliuer, because I haue done the like (but more  
amplie) for England, as being better acquainted  
with our owne than their histories.

The names and times of certeine  
chancelloz of Scotland, gathered out  
of the histories of that nation.



William Wood bishop of Dunblaine was chancelloz to William king of  
Scots, which began his reigne in the  
yeare of Christ one thousand one hun-  
dred eightie and five, as some haue (but Lesleus lib.  
6. pag. 226 giueth it to the yeare of our Lord God  
one thousand one hundred and thre score, whose  
account herein is false) and continued in that office  
at the time of the death of the said William, which  
fell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two  
hundred and fouretene. After whose death he was  
by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place  
of chancelloz.

John Lion chancelloz of Scotland (in the time  
of Robert the second of that name, and the first of  
the house of the Stewards which ware the crowne)  
was chancelloz of Scotland, who being in great fa-  
uor with the said Robert the second, married the lady  
Elisabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whome  
he had in franke mariage diuerse possessions called  
Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of  
which Lion is that surname descended, who in me-  
mozie of that marriage beate in their armes the li-  
ons and lillies with the tresse in such forme as the  
king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their  
lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath  
noted. Which Lion being chancelloz was slain in  
the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred  
and eightie, being about the tenth yeare of the same  
Robert the second, who after banished the earle of  
Crawford.

Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberdeen, being  
chancelloz about the yeare that the word became  
flesh, one thousand foure hundred and eleuen in the  
vacancie of the kingdome, under duke Morisacke,  
betwene the death of Robert the second (which fell  
in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred  
and six, and the beginning of the reigne of James  
the first, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand  
foure hundred twentie and six) was sent ambassa-  
doz into France with other noblemen of Scotland,  
touching which, thus writeth Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 270.  
Mortuo interea Roberto Scotiæ gubernatore, filius  
eius Mordacus regni procurator designatur. A quo  
Carolus septimus Francorum rex (in patris quoque  
locū suffectus) per legatos auxilium conera Anglos  
postulat. Assensus ille est, & eosdē duces (quos pauld  
ante in Franciam in copijs traiecit commemo-  
rauius) cum valido militum manu Gallo subsidio re-  
misit. Cum eis quoque Gilbertus Grenlaw episco-  
pus Aberdonensis, vir magnæ inter regni primo-  
res. singularem ob prudentiam auctoritatis, qui  
cancellariatus magistratum magna gessit dexteri-  
tate, in Galliam mittitur legatus, qui regem Caro-  
lum consolaretur, & certiozem faceret eos, qui  
Galliam aduenerat, & totius Scotiæ incolæ, ad eū  
eius fide & amore perficere, vt se atque bonâ omnia,  
pro illius Francorumque salute tribuere ex animo  
sunt parati: idque rei exitus probabit. After which  
ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie  
long, for Henrie Lichton, who came thozite in his  
place of the bishoprike, was with other sent ambas-  
sadoz into England, to fetch home James the first,  
and to inuest him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Creichton knight, whom Lesleus termeth  
the wisest man that euer Scotland saw, being chan-  
celloz to James the first, was (in the yeare of Christ  
one thousand foure hundred thirte and thre, about  
the ninth yeare of the saye king James) with  
the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepburne of Hales,  
sent

William Wood.

John Lion.

Gilbert Gren-  
law.

William  
Creichton.

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliver the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobey, but permitted them to enter accordingly. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirty six and five, and the eleventh of the same king, he was sent ambassador into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good service being well rewarded, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the government of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellorship, beside which he had the government of the kings person, and of the castle of Edinburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betwene sir Alexander Levingston the governor of the realme and this chancellor, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirty six and seven, whereby ensued much mischief and bloodshed in the realme (as always by my observation I have found to happen during the minority and the insufficiency of kings) at what time the quene taking part with the governor against the chancellor found means by subtiltie to get the king into his possession out of the hands of the chancellor, after that she had handsomely trusted by the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the governor besieged the chancellor in the castle of Edinburgh, but in the end they agreed that Creichton should still keepe the castle of Edinburgh and of his office of chancellor.

That done, in the yeare one thousand four hundred thirty six and nine, and the third yeare of James the second, the chancellor obtained to have the quene Dowager, and his husband James Stewart lord of Rothe released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the governor. Which done the chancellor keeping in mind the deceit of the quene, in overreaching him, by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the governor to take the whole authority on him at his pleasure, did so worke that he found means, that he onlie accompanied with foure and twenty persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling park) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edinburgh, wherewith the governor was grievously displeased, but not able to remedie the same, there was an agreement made betwene the chancellor and him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancellor, and the governor continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and forty, and the fourth yeare of James the second, the governor and the chancellor assemble a councell of the nobilitie at Edinburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred forty and foure, being the eight of the same James the second, both the governor and the chancellor (at the perswasion of William earle Dowglas) were removed from their offices by the king, who being now about fourtene yerres old, had taken the absolute government of the kingdome upon him: besides which they were also put from the councell, their friends were banished the court, and they were summoned to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as gillie in conscience, but as fearing the cruelty of their enemies, whereupon they were proclaimed rebels and put to the horne, which occasioned William Dowglas the chancellors great envie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requitall whereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entered the land

of Dowglas, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Dowglas, caused him to procure the king in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred forty and five, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliverie of the castles of Edinburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to do until the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscated, being therein no iniurie done unto him, for as saith Lesseus: Primus omnium sanciverat Creichtonus, ut qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violata maiestatis arcessatur, cuius ille legis poenam primus subiit, as did he which denied Phalaris bull. But after when the king had besieged Edinburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was delivered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancellor, which obtained, he never after delt in the affairs of the common welsh, whereby growing againe into the kings favour, he was with others in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred forty and six, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassador to the duke of Gelderland to obtaine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred forty and seven, so salted, for that his servants would not deliver Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you have heard. But after as it seemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglas (supposing him to be the cause that the king mistook the earle) assaulted one morning as he was coming out of the castle of Edinburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped unto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recovered Edinburgh from the Dowglas, and had destroyed the earle at that present, if he had not thisted awaye more speedily: who being thus dishonorablely chased from Edinburgh, by the erle of Crawford and Rolfe to joine with him against Creichton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting god for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand four hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, grievously fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edinburgh, the earldome of Arrerte was given to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whom it had bene wrongfully taken by the iniust sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglas, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not keepe that earldome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendered the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathness, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I do now intreat by reason of this chancellor.

Andrew Stewart lord of Arundale was chancellor of Scotland in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred thre score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Forweie to conclude a marriage with the king of Denmarke, betwene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Julie, at what time they were married accordingly. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ one

one thousand foure hundred foure score and two, and the two and twentieth of James the third, when Alexander Steward Duke of Albanie with the duke of Gloucester were come vnto Rastalrig with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agreement was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was restored home, and had both honors and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the government of the kingdome for a certaine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the quene at Sterling, the duke by the quenes persuasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edinburgh, and by force restored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton  
179.

James Beton archbishop of Glasgowe was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred & thirtene, being the first yeare of king James the first. This man being of great wisdom, was appointed amongst others to assist the quene in the government of the realme, wherevnto he was for a time advanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell against the bishop, did immediatlie after the marriage, performed the first of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fouretene, betwene hie and Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus (which this bishop incountred as much as he could) take the great seale from the said bishop of Glasgowe, at saint Johns towne, wherevpon the bishop got him to Edinburgh, and assisted with manie lords, kept the quene and hie husband out of that towne, whereby great dissension and part taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betwene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene, he commeth with the earle of Arrane, who submitteth himselfe to the gouernor. Shortly following, the gouernor gaue to this archbishop of Glasgowe the abbeye of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Spurreis a large pension out of the same, which bishop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was (in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene in Maie, when the gouernor went into France) appointed, amongst others, to haue the rule of the realme vntill his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being diuided about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and ninetene, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glasgowe; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edinburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadoys came to Sterling, where a peace was proclaimed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one state, or what peace will be long embraced amongst ambitious minds: sith in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentieth, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when diuerse of the peeres were come to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus against the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they pursued the earle and chancellor so hotlie, that they were both constrained to forsake the towne, and to flee through the north Loch, about the thirtieth daie of April. But as the euents of quarels be doubtfull, now by now downe, so this archbishop not long after this disgrace, recovered breath, and in Nouember following, did accompanie the regent come out

of France to Edinburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refusing, it was agreed that the earle should passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus hauing the better of his enemies, Andrew Forman bishop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thousand five hundred twentieth and two, being about the ninth yeare of James the first, by occasion whereof, this chancellor James Beton bishop of Glasgowe was aduanced to that see, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Upon which new honor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor anie long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his usurped government, and sent the deliuerie of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great seale, which was deliuered to the messengers: vpon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of dinorcs sued before him, betwene the quene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and six, take for the quene and the bishop of saint Andrews: but because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbeye of Dumfermling, and the castell of saint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding which, the archbishop keeping in fauor with the old quene and the young king, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and nine, and the sixteenth yeare of James the first, christen James the kings sonne bozne at saint Andrews, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not graue me to set downe what Lesleus hath written, which though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I had rather set downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our our tong, to deprive the author of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writeth.

Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreapolitanus, qui maximis reipublice honoribus summaque gloria apud nos quam diutissime floruerat, etate iam grandior, naturæ concedebat, ac in æde sancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregiè charos habuit, viuis constituēbat, vt in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficeretur. In episcopatum autem Santandreapolitanum, ac in abbatiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudentia, & animi magnitudine præstans David Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbatiam verò Dumferlingenfem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impediuī, quo minus illi, quos archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficijs liberè fruerentur: ne cuius viui mentem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiosè videretur rescidisse. Hic archiepiscopus præcipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreapoli dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniæ vim qua reliqua pars indota perpolliretur, testato reliquit: verum pecunia illa in alios vltus postea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acridi dicam) perierat. Thus much Lesle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of saint Andrews.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glasgowe, and the kings scholemaister, was chancellor as appeareth by Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and two, writeth: Non multo post Andreas Formannus episcopus

Lesleus lib. 9,  
pag. 450.

copus Santandreapolitanus vità cessit, huius quam primū honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Beton archiepiscopus Glasguensis, qui quidem archiepiscopus omnium summa voluntate cessit prætati-  
fimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quod recoditæ eruditionis, sinceræ vitæ consilijque graui-  
ssimi laudibus præsterit, regis tenella ætas moribus doctrinæque informanda credebatur, quem intimis sensibus ita dilexit rex, vt sui intimi consilij socium, regnique cancellarium postea illum coaptauerat.

David Beton (the brothers sonne of James Beton deceased archbishop of saint Andrews) was chancelor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others sent ambassador into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, being the one and twentieth yeare of the gouernment of James the first, for to procure the earle of Glendoune sister in marriage for the king; but the same toke not effect, because the king going in person into France liked hir not. About thre peares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and seuen, and the foure and twentieth yeare of James the first, this David was aduanced to the honoꝝ of a cardinall, of which title I do not at this time remember, that euer I haue read anie other to haue inioied but Walter Warblaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth: Walterus episcopus Glasguensis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemētis 7, obiit inter annum 1400, & 1409, whome the Scottish histories make cardinall somewhat before in the yeare one thousand thre hundred fourescore and two, about the eleuenth yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassador to renew the league betwene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom also the king of France gaue in commendam the bishopricke of Eptopen: of the making of which Beton cardinall, thus the same Onuphrius writeth: David de sancto Andrea Scotus episcopus Miropienfis presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Celio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1538, 13 kalend. Ianuar. per Paulum tertiu, anno pontificatus 13. In which words Onuphrius, and Lesleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and seuen. In which yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others sent ambassador into France after the death of the queene, to procure Marie of Loreine widow duchesse of Longuile, and daughter to the duche of Guise, to be giuen to king James in marriage; which matter he brought to his desired effect.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his vnckle James Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to succeed in the same bishops see and abbete, which he inioied accordinglie: who aduanced with these dignities, did after the death of James the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and two, labor by policies and other extraordinarie deuises to be gouernor of the realme, during the minoritye of the yong queene; but he was disappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that fundi-  
on; by meanes whercof, there fell continuall dissensions betwene the nobilitie, which ended not untill this cardinall was slaine as after it shall appeare. For shortly after in the said yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward (in the castle of Dalkeith vnder the custodie of the

lord Seton, smallie fauoring the French faction) because he would haue perswaded the nobilitie to forsake the motion of the k. of England, determining to marie his son prince Edward to the yong queene of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine there; for by the gouernors appointment he was removed to his owne castell of S. Andrews, having watch and ward about him, to see him safelie kept, in which place also he did not long continue: for corrupting his keepers he found meanes to escape; which done, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and thre, he came to the coronation of the yong queene, and shortly after perswaded the earle of Arrane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of England, and wholie to become French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all things, appointing euery officer, and growing into great credit, did in like sort at other times dispose of the common-wealth as seemed best liking vnto him. Whereupon, the earle of Lennox taking part with the English, opposed himselfe against the gouernor and the cardinall, whereby followed sharpe warres, the cardinall still supporting and counsel-  
ling the gouernor: which troubles being somewhat abated, by reason the earle of Lennox was gone into England, the cardinall in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, received the patriarch of Jerusalem arrived in Scotland. In which meane time, there was great contention betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, for bearing their crosses in the others surbition: whereupon they fell from words to swords, which the gouernor appealed: that done, the patriarch the popes legat comming to Rome, procured the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall, which he long inioied not. For being greatlie enuied by reason of these honoꝝ & some græuous facts, certeine persons in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and six (after that he had burned George Wishart a learned man, condemned at saint Andrews by an assemblie of bishops) did the thirtieth daie of Maie (when they had secretlie in the morning entered the castell of saint Andrews where the cardinall was) repell the porters of the foresaid castell, the cardinals seruants, and slue the cardinall naked as he came to mete them, whose death sir James Liermount prouost of saint Andrews thought to haue staied by assembling a power therefore: but after that he saw the cardinals dead bodie hanged out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The death of which cardinall comming to the gouernors eares, he banished the author thereof, as writeth Lesleus in these words: Gubernator, quod nec cognato suo sanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec cancellario maiestas ac domus propria, ad impiorum insidias effugas quicquam profuerit, ægerime ferre. Consilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij iuasus indicto, in cadis auctores capitis proscRIPTIONISQUE sententia data est.

George Gordon earle of Huntley, sonne of John Gordon, being chancelor of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and seuen, falling about the first yeare of the reigne of Marie queen of Scots, was taken prisoner by the English at Spuskelbozow field, who pittieing the miserie of diuerse of his countriemen, wounded and taken at the same battell, did undertake for their ransom; whereupon they were permitted to depart, and left to shift for themselves as well as they might. In the next yeare, which was the yeare of Christ (as hath Lesleus one thousand five hundred fortie and eight) the protector of Scotland sent Carnegie knight and senator to the protector of England, to ransom Huntley, or at the least to obtaine that his wife might

Two cardinals onlie in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 482.

George Gordon.

holfe might come vnto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Dornoch, where expecting his wife, he thought vpon his escape, and from thence after supper, deceiuing his warders, he fled by night into Scotland, through the aid of one George Carre his dære friend, who prouided him speedie horses therefore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was tolluslie intertained of the quene, the gouernour, and the other nobilitie; but chieftie of his wife, whose earnest desire to see him was the occasion of his escape. But as all ioie hath some hard hap for the most part attending vpon the same; so this earle did after feeble force of like misfortune. For about seuen yeares after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to prison as after shall appeare. Before which, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the quene mother of Scotland; but before that iournie, while he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Mackintosh chiefe of the Glenchatins to be executed at Stratbelgie, for a priuie conspiracie made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raised a great commotion like to haue succeeded to great slaughters (in that the earle of Cassels and manie others fauored Mackintosh) if the wisdome of the quene mother had not appeased the same.

After that the quene mother had bin in France, she in the same yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England; but the earle Huntlie warilie fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them, returned by sea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had bene about foure yeares in Scotland, the quene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, sent this earle Huntlie into Westland to take John Muriad: but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edinburgh the eleuenth of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, toke awaie the great seale from this earle Huntlie the chancelor, and gaue it to monsieur Rubie a Frenchman, which monsieur Rubie thus made keeper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie quene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntlie then chancelor in ward. But the earle of Huntlie after being set at libertie, it seemeth that he was still chancelor. For besides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Marre, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Dykeneie & Westland, and the quenes land at Straitsdie, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the Scottish histories named still chancelor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and one, and the nineteenth yeare of quene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongst other, chosen to be of the priuie council. Of whome before this also Lesleus writeth, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, the quene hauing receiued a bill of supplication from the protestants: Illa hunc protinus libellum supplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium synodo exhibendum, vt de illis definiret, reddidit.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and two, in October being the twentieth yeare of the same quene, he was in the faction betwene him and others (for diuerse misdemeanors also, vpon his coming with an armie

to Cornethie in Mar) slaine, and John Gordon his sonne taken prisoner, brought to Aberdine the nine and twentieth of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancelors which followed in succession of time, because they fall yet fresh in memorie, and some mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals; I do not intend to make anie double rectall of them in that place, being a thing superfluous so to do; therefore, because Omne nimum vertitur in vitium (whereunto the latiners agree saieing, that Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora) I will referre the for the supplement of this title of the chancelors, to the same continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and dispose them, as best shall serue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherefore leauing them, and returning to the consideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and brought forth in Scotland: we sale, that as the quene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, sent maister Knolles into Scotland to vnderstand the estate of these times: so in like sort the Scots with like congratulation, dispatched a messenger vnto the quene of England, by whome she might haue knowledge of such things as were after done. For maister William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was sent from the king of Scots to the quene of England in the same moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who coming to the court then remaining at Cranelwich, did there make deliuerie of the same letters. During whose abode here in England, some of those which had before assisted the earles of Angus and Marre, against such as seemed to nourish the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the same Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a desire to be singular to themselves, embraced the abolished doctrine of the pope, & set by the ceremonie of Italie. Amongst whom, one, not of the meanest, the lord Marwell, who had married the earle of Angus his sister, did in Januarie aduance the same, and heard masse at Lincluden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike laws appointed in Scotland. Whereof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith dispatched a messenger vnto him, commanding him to surcease the same. But the lord Marwell persisting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and vpon the refusall of an oth touching the same, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edinburgh, where he long remained.

These things thus done in Scotland, the aforenamed maister Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentieth of Januarie, with answer that his maiestie of England would shortly send an ambassador into Scotland, who should fullie satisfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the full of his maiesties determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph esquier, a person who had manie times before executed that function in those countries, and was well acquainted both with the state & maners of the people, was by the quene of England dispatched into those parts; who being so authorized, toke his iournie from London towards Scotland on the eight daie of Februarie. After which, in Aprill following, maister Archibald Douglas (one that had bene sometime of the session or parliament of Edinburgh) hauing remained some yeares here in England, vpon displeasures which the king of Scots conceiued against him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himselfe so

Et. j. wiselie,

Monsieur  
Rubie keeper of  
the great seale.

William Keith  
sent into Eng-  
land.

The lord  
Marwell hear-  
eth masse.

Maister  
Randolph go-  
eth into Scot-  
land.



willie, that he obtained great fauor after his returne home. In this yeare, the presbyterie (as they had manie times done before, but especiallie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and thre, which I thought to note in this place, because I would not often vse repetition of one thing done at severall times in so manie places) did excommunicat their metropolitan the archbishop of S. Andrews, and the rest of the bishops also, because they would not in all their actions, support and confirm the doctrine which the presbyterie had established. Which excommunication the presbyterie did the more boldlie, because they were supported by the assistance of the maister of Lindseie, a great enimie to this Patrike Adamson bishop of saint Andrews.

But the king in the beginning did assist him against them, and the archbishop did in like sort thunder an excommunication against them. Which division not being mete to be in the cleargie, who ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bring the same realme to confusion: for Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur: which must needs be, where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obteine superiours. In which place, sith I haue mentioned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint Andrews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection of all the archbishops of that see.

#### A Cathalog of the archbishops of saint Andrews, collected out of the histories of Scotland.



The Scots seeking meanes to rid themselves from subiection of the bishop of Rome, who was the metropolitan of Scotland, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and fouretene obteine of the pope that they might haue a metropolitan (se within themselves, by reason of the continual wars which was betwene the two nations, during which they could neither vse appellations to their metropolitan, nor haue other bishops consecrated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S. Andrews into an archbishopricke in the time of king James the third, touching which, thus writeth Lefleus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and fouretene) Patricius Grahamus sedis Andreapolitane ecclesie episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a papa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana potestas in diui Andree ciuitate fingeretur: iniquum esse enim contendit, vt Scoti ab Eboracensi episcopo tanquam primatu pederent, cum propter crebra bella (quibus se Scoti & Angli mutuo lacescunt) Scotis ad illum non pateretur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, praesertim in appellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, vt Andreapolitano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitana incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi mense Septembri dicta est, atque maxima populi nobiliunq; laetitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Grahami odio flagrant, illius auctoritatem repudiant, regisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other authoys saie, eleuen thousand marks) occupant, ne Grahami partibus studeret. Interea praesules Romam mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum suscipiant. But in the end they did not preuaile. Graham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andrews and the first archbishop of that see, was after his advancement to that title deposed in this sort. In the

yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and seuentene, pope Nissus the fourth of that name sent a legat called Husman into Scotland, which should displace this Patrike the archbishop of saint Andrews, condemned by the sentence of the pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismaticke, simoniacke, whereupon he was deposed of all ecclesiasticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall prison; in whose place was William Schewes chosen, to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was committed, after which Graham being removed for his safe imprisonment first to saint Colms Ile, then to Dumfermeling, and lastlie to Lochelene, there in the end he died, and was buried in saint Sarcis or Seruianus Ile in Lochelene after that he had bene thre yeares archbishop.

William Schewes being created archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and eightene as some haue, or one thousand foure hundred threescore and nintene as others haue, in the Holie rood house in Edinburgh, in the presence of king James and manie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the ensigne of his metropolitan power, being declared legat and primat of Scotland, at what time he was not withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being estranged from shewing anie fauor to Graham, did often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled the same Graham from his archiepiscopall see. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore & two, this archbishop Schewes fled into his owne countrie, and after at the request of the king resigned his archbishopricke, contenting himselfe with the bishopricke of Aburrie.

Andrew Steward uncle to king James the third was upon the resignation of William Schewes made archbishop of saint Andrews, after which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and foure the king sent this archbishop ambassadoz to Rome for the obtaining of certeine priuileges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, in the time of king James the fourth, about the third yeare of his reigne was great contention betwene the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgowe, touching both their authorities: which when it had drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions, it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, untill all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding the same by the canon law before ecclesiasticall iudges. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuen, being about the nineteenth yeare of James the fourth, the bishop of saint Andrews with the earle of Arrane were sent ambassadoz into France.

Alexander Steward bassard sonne to king James the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and ten, about the two and twentieth of the reigne of the same James the fourth: this man hauing long studeied with Erasmus in Germanie, and in the low countries was aduanced to this see of the archbishopricke when he was yet in flanders; who hauing intelligence thereof by his friends, came forthwith into Scotland, where he was iustlie receiued by the king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was slaine together with his father king James the fourth at Floden field, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene. After which, John Hepburne prior of saint Andrews strongly besieging the castle of saint Andrews, forced the same to be yielded vnto him. The cause of which bessege grew, that Hepburne being chosen bishop of saint Andrews by his canons of that church (whereunto the whole nobilitie were

Lefleus. lib. 8.  
pag. 318.

William  
Schewes

Andrew  
Steward.

Lefleus.

1483

Alexander  
Steward.

Lefleus. lib. 8.  
pag. 313.

were helpers) was hindered to possess that archb-  
shoppe, by such sypendarie people of Calvine  
Dowglas as kept the castle; whereupon the queene  
and the earle of Angus, after that they understood  
how the castle was by force come into the hands of  
Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was so  
troublesome vnto the m, should ascend to so high a  
dignitie, and that Calvine Dowglas to deserue to  
them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that bi-  
shoppe should be helpelesse of the recouerie thereof.  
Whereupon the queene and the duke of Albanie dis-  
gentlie labored by ambassadoes sent to Rome, that  
a third person (sith Calvine Dowglas could not  
obtaine it) might be aduanced therevnto, which third  
man was Andrew Forzman bishop of Gurrie: fur-  
ther requiring therewithall that he might be abbat  
of Dumfermling, & Aberzoth, which in the end with  
much intreatie they obtained of the pope.

Andrew  
Forzman.

Andrew Forzman bishop of Gurrie was at E-  
denburgh by the popes bulls on the eighth kalends  
of Januarie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five  
hundred and fiftene (being about the second yeare  
of the reigne of James the first) declared archbishop  
of S. Andrewes, and abbat of Dumfermling and A-  
berzoth. Whereupon the prior of saint Andrewes  
before named, still contending that he was archbi-  
shop, both in respect of the election of the couent, and  
the content of the nobilitie, did labor all he could a-  
gainst Forzman, appealing him to Rome, for which  
cause he with the lord Hales and other his friends  
came to Edinburgh to defend the matter, at what  
time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and  
such others as openlie assisted Forzman, did oppose  
themselues against the prior, which nobilitie (because  
they were great in the court) did the more molest and  
hinder Hepburne, shortly after by publike edict (and  
proclamation of the king) banishing the prior & his fo-  
llovers. Hepburne being stricken with the sharpnes  
of that precept, did praisilie depart the towne, and the  
prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie  
to wrest from Forzman the archbishoppe, which he  
could not obtaine by violence. But how he sped at  
Rome I do not know, for I onelie find this, that in  
the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one  
thousand five hundred and sixtene, about the thirde  
yeare of the same James the first, that the gouernour  
perceiuing that all these contentions, hatreds, and  
dissensions of the nobilitie did arise by these brawles,  
which were betwene Forzman and Hepburne for the  
see of saint Andrewes, desired to cure this greivous  
wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he  
persuaded Andrew Forzman that he should resigne  
all his ecclesiasticall benefices into his hands in an  
open assemblie at Edinburgh, for by that meanes  
the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the  
minds of the nobilitie, and bitterlie root out those  
breaches of dissention. Whereupon there was a daie  
appointed to the nobilitie to assemblie: at what time  
Andrew Forzman frelie resigned to the gouernour  
the duke of Albanie all his ecclesiasticall promotion,  
to be disposed at the dukes pleasure. In considerati-  
on thereof, the duke bestowed the archbishoppe of  
saint Andrewes and the abbeie of Dumfermling vpon  
the same Andrew Forzman, and gaue the bishop-  
rike of Gurrie to James Hepburne (greatlie fauo-  
red of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of For-  
zman) being therevnto substitute by John Hepburne  
prior of saint Andrewes in place of the said John,  
to whom moreover the duke appointed a perelie pen-  
sion of a thousand marks, to be paid by the same  
Forzman out of the abbeie of Dumfermling. After  
which, about six yeares or somewhat lesse, this For-  
zman departed his life, being in the yeare of Christ  
one thousand five hundred twentie and two, and the

ninth yeare of king James the first, to whom succe-  
ded James Beton.

James Beton archbishop of Glasgowe and chan-  
celloz of Scotland, was made archbishop of saint  
Andrewes (as is before touched) after the death of  
Andrew Forzman, hauing therewith the abbeie of  
Dumfermling, as his predecessor before had posses-  
sed it, of whom see more in my discourse of the chan-  
celloz of Scotland.

David Beton brother to the same James Beton  
was after the death of the last archbishop of saint  
Andrewes named to that see by his brother before  
his death, which place he possessed accordingly, af-  
ter the death of the same James Beton. Of this  
man being a cardinall I haue spoken more liberal-  
lie in my discourse of the chancelloz of Scotland.

John Hamilton brother to the gouernour being  
abbat of Passaie, was by the same gouernour in the  
yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and  
six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie queene of  
Scots made archbishop of S. Andrewes, after that  
he had returned out of France (where he applied his  
 studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hun-  
dred fortie & thre, being the first or second of queene  
Marie of Scotland. This man coming out of  
France, passed through England, and hauing other  
learned men in his companie, did visit the king of  
England, of whome he was most honourable and  
courteouslie receiued. From whence going into  
Scotland he was made tresuroz, which office he  
kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whome  
he did further in all good counsels at home, and saue  
& defend in the wars abroad. When in the yeare of  
Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, be-  
ing the seauententh of queene Marie, he was with  
the queene besieged in Leith. After still following  
the queenes part, he with others meteth hir in the  
yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and  
six, at Dunkelborow, and so attendeth on hir, who  
not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand  
five hundred senentie & one, being about the fourth  
yeare of James the first, was taken in the castell of  
Dunbartaine, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where  
being examined by the regent Mattheu earle of  
Lenex, about the murder of Henrie king of  
Scots, sonne to the said Mattheu, he was there  
drowne, hanged, and quartered, being the first arch-  
bishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ig-  
nominious a death.

Patrike Adamson alias Constance succeeded  
John Hamilton in the archbishoppe of saint An-  
drewes, who possessing this place at this daie, and ha-  
uing occasioned me to speake of him in seuerall  
places in this my continuance of the annales of  
Scotland, is here to be ouerpassed, and therefore I  
referre thee to the same annales, if thou desire to  
know what I haue said of him. ¶ Thus knitting vp  
the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andrewes, we  
saie that as you haue heard before, that in Februarie  
last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambas-  
sador from the queene of England into Scotland, so  
he still remaining there a long time in that countrie  
dispatht his ambassage to good effect. During whose  
abode there, there was an assemblie holden at  
Edenborough in Maie, wherein these things which  
follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and  
order of the same commonwealth.

The articles concluded in the assem-  
blie holden at Edinburgh in Maie.

First, the whole realme was diuided into 52  
presbyteries, & the number of ministers and  
churches appointed to euerie presbyterie.

Item.

2 That

2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesday of October and Aprill.

3 There shall be one generall assemblee in the yeare, the first of October next ensuing.

4 All assemblies do consist of these persons, the pastor, doctor, and elders, & all the three to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue anie lutes in the assemblies may see and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the three afore specified.

5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onelie proper to the pastor or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastor.

6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldritchship as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did apperteyne onelie to a pastor or pastors sent from the assemblee, and not else.

7 That when euer the assemblee maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, triall of ministers, deposing them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest iudgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand untill the presbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblee, being a pastor, as pastor shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblee, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblee, of whome he receiued the same.

10 If he admit or do any thing without consent of his assemblee, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

11 The power which he shall receiue shall be Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis.

12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not preiudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

13 The visitors appointed by the generall assemblee for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblee shall appoint.

14 That no commission giuen by ante in times past before the date of this assemblee shall be vailleable, but such onlie as the said assemblee shall appoint. In which assemblee also it seemeth that the kings maiestie made certeine requestes, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, whereupon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the preiudice of his metropolitane iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.

The meanes taken in this generall assemblee, touching the bishop of S. Andrews, at the desire of the kings maiestie.

**I**f the bishop by his owne handwriting or personall appearance in the assemblee, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publikelie professed or meant in anie sort to claime a supremacie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer allowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had so done, it had bene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall as-

semblee he claimed to be iudge thereunto, and that if he had done it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour or contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and craue pardon for the oversight thereof, and promise good behauiour in the time to come.

3 If he will promise to claime no further than he iustlie may by Gods his word, and according to the last conference, and endeavour himselfe in all behauiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderate person, and so serue, as that he may promise agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblee without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to insue.

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yeld to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand thereunto, which done, the said assemblee at Edinburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind and obedience to his maiestie, in annulling the processe of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

The decree of the assemblee at Edinburgh, concerning the restitution of the bishop of S. Andrews.

**W**HEREAS by his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what good will we would obeye his heires so farre as we ought, or in his conscience we may, and for god hope we haue in his maiesties fauourable concurrence in building up of the house of God within this realme, and because the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time of the conference, whereupon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie god causes were conuenient to be removed, we will forbear to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoeuer prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemn the said synod. Yet for the respects afore said, and vpon god and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlaid, vnderdotted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Prouiding alwaies he obserue what hath bene promised by him in the premisses, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This done the earle of Rutland (having a commission directed to him, to William lord Cuers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwicke as his maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Whereupon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Cuers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwicke the place appointed where this league should be fullie established. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and authority, appointed to come to Berwicke for Scotland. But some delate being made of their appearance, and manie excuses therewith to intertaine time by messengers vied, at the length commeth to Berwicke Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boyd, and

and sir James Hume of Golden Knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensive and offensive betwene these two nations: which done, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leaue of the king, whome when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fiftenth of August, where I will now leaue him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet because they were writtten to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the instructions of the young Scottish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

*Sape tibi Randolphe iubet me pingere regem,  
Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.  
Accipe: sit primum vera pietatis amator,  
Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,  
Pacem amet: et si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,  
Exuat in victos arma, odiūque simul,  
Nolo nimis parcus, nimium sit nolo benignus,  
Vtrāque regno aqua est exitiosa lues,  
Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,  
Et se communem cuiuslibet esse patrem:  
Puniat iniuitus, cum r. i. iubet esse severum,  
Publica cum poscent commoda lenis erit.  
Viuat, ut exemplar populo sit recta sequendi,  
Sit vultus prauus terror, amorque bonus,  
Excolat impense ingenium, corpusque modestū,  
Luxuriam frangat cum ratione pudor:  
Iam tacitus tecum, tentas me fallere, tanquam  
In tabula nostram qui mihi pingit heram.*

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassadoe sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassadoe being called monsieur D'annauall had at this time small intertainment in Scotland; where not staid long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrie into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Boid was slaine in this sort. The earle being a goodlie young gentleman, and like to proue a good member of his countrie, as manie of his ancestors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much vsed by the Scots) about five or six miles fro his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambush of his enemies, he was in his forneie towards his castell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertlands, and some of the sarranians of the Apulrs; at that time he was most miserable slaine by them to their great dishonour, and his countries discomfort. After which, in September Archibald Dowglaste (who as you heard before departing this realme in April last, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was sent ambassadoe from the king of Scots to the queene of England; in whose companie were attendant on him William Purro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglaste nephew vnto the same Archibald. Which ambassadoe after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsoze, on the first of the same month of September, with whome remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, repeating the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender dis-

course. Thus hauing patched vp a Raplodie of some few things done in Scotland since the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie so needlie deliuered by me, I determine to knit vp all whatsoeuer is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue bene the willinger to do, because I would obserue that course in Scotland which I haue done in my additions to the historie of England, first writtten by Raphael Holinshed, for hauing there closed vp that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue writtten any thing concerning England, so will I wrap vp these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrie. In doing whereof I haue not refused to follow the order of Lelæus and other historiographers of Scotland, obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

### A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scottish kings.

**B**Efore I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speake not by waie of impeaching anye glozie of the Scottish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauiug correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do transference them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they seeme vnto me (holding the same for this present untill I may see god authoritie to disproue it) to be ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I do verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For vntill late yeres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scoti or Scots; whereupon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, do challenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for challenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers do vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogate from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, still leaving it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may nor will sit as Honorarius arbiter betwene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, Fergusius who died, as hath Gellnerus out of Bale, in the yere of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Lelæus saith three hundred and five before Christ, did write Leges politicas lib. 1. This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them; for thus writeth Scanihurst in his writers of Ireland: Fergusius sonne to Feguardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more

part suppose to haue bene an Irishman, was in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned nere a rocke in the north part of Ireland; that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Upon whose mishap these verses following were made:

Icarus Icaris vt nomina fecerat vdis,  
Fergusus petra sic deest apta sua.

**Iosina.**

Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusus the first, who flourished in the yeare of the world, as hath Gesnerus, three thousand eight hundred twentieth and six, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seuen, as the same author saith, but one hundred three score and one as hath Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89 did write De viribus herbarum lib. 1.

**Ethobius.**

Ethobius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the yeare of Christ one hundred ninety and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath Lesleus, but one hundred ninety and six, as hath Gesnerus, saine by a musician of the Hebrewes, did write Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas.

**Celins  
Sedulius.**

Celins Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Gesnerus, which flourished about the yeare of Grace foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusus the second, and Eugenius the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Greece, and Asia, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 134. Whome the pope Gelasius wondering at his vertue and writing was wont to call Venerabilem, or worthy reuerence, as our English Bede is accustomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write Carmen paschale lib. 4. which books are intituled Libri mirabilium diuinorum. Besides, he penned Annotations in omnes Pauli epistolas, printed at Basil by Henrie Peter, Hymnum de seruatore. Ad Theodosium Cæsarem lib. 1. In ædificationem Donati lib. 1. In Prisciani volumen lib. 1. Exhortatorium ad fideles lib. 1. De Christo lib. 2. with diuerse other verses and epistles.

**Merlinus  
Calidonus.**

Merlinus Calidonus otherwise called Merlinus Syluestris, or Typlandis (a different person from him which is called Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholar of the British prophet Telefinus. This Merline Calidon executed manie prodigies or strange things against the English Saxons, which man flourishing about the yeare of Christ five hundred and seuentie, did write De vaticinijs lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

**Columbanus.**

Columbanus, whome Gesnerus, Bede, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in Ulster, but Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta, Lesleus, & the Scottish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monasteries, being Abbas Luxuriensis, as hath Gesnerus, Sixtus Senensis, and Lesle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbey he built (by the permission of Theodoricus the king) together with the abbey of Fount. nelle in France. This man at the first held the feast of Easter contrarie to the west church, but in the end was reduced thereunto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left saint Gall, and after passed into Italie, where he liued a most holie life in the monasterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Bontiens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentieth daie of Nouember. He flourished in the time of Conballus king of Scots, about the yeare of our redemption five hundred ninety and eight, and left these books to posteritie, Commentaria in totum psalterium lib. 1. Epistolarum lib. 1. Mona-

steriorum methodos lib. 1. Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos lib. 1.

Briget, a most holie woman, whome the Irish Briget, affirme to be borne in Ulster, but Gesnerus and Lesle with the Scots doe affirme her to be borne a Scot, being by Gesner called Brigida Laginensis, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of Span, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 149. She flourished about the yeare of our Lord five hundred three score and eight, as hath Lesleus, in the reigne of Conballus king of Scots; some other saie she flourished in the yeare five hundred and ten, Gesnerus in the yeare of Christ five hundred and eightene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which books Lesleus will not haue to be written by this Briget a Scottish woman, but by Briget called Brigita Suetica that flourished manie yeres after this Scottish Briget, writing thus: Imperitè tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inscribuntur, quidam cõfundit: siquidè multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitam sunt vbique profecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in vllius cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruat se habere contendunt. Nostri eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui idipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè se colere hæcenus putantur, &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen challenge her with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which verses are thus:

*Hi tres in Duno tumultu tumulantur in vno,  
Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius.*

Maeldulphus or Maeldulbus Scotus, as Gesnerus termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord six hundred foure score and nine, he writ De Paschatis obseruatione, whom I take to be Maeldulphus, who was notable learned in the Greeke and Latine, first a scholemaster, and after abbat of Maeldulphie called in the beginning Maeldulphi curia, or Maeldulphsburie, after the name of this Maeldulphus, who as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and sixtene. Now it is certaine both by our and the Scottish chronicles, that Maeldulphus the builder of Maeldulphie monasterie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a monke, was martyred in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord six hundred three score and nine, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, but Lesleus affirmeth him to liue in the gouernment of Ethlinus, which died in the yeare of our Lord seven hundred three score and two, being the thirtieth yere of his reigne. This Kilianus did write Contra peregrinos cultus, lib. 1. Gesner also out of Mat. Dresserus nameth Lecturæ Kiliani super magistrū sententiarum, which peradventure might be this Kilianus the Scot.

Jonas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat Columbanus, flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred and thirtie, as hath Gesnerus, he writ Vitam sancti Columbani lib. 1. Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Gesner out of Bale, was a monke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monasterie in the Ile of Iona, who flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and ninetene, and writ De locis terræ sanctæ lib. 1. De situ Ierusalem lib. 1. De pascheta legitimo lib. 1. Epistolas multas. From this mans works Bede affirmeth that he had



had manie things which he inserted in his owne booke. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus was a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Northshire belonging to the bishopricke of Forke, and now at this date is in English called Catwold.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the first king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Lesleus, noble bozne, who travelling into strange countries, converted manie from paganism into Christ, leading a most austere life in the solitarie woods, not far from Buzschius the famous riuer in Alsatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writeth Gesnerus: Florentius Volufenus Scotus scripsit theologicā orationē sue cōmendationem piā & eruditā, Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi tranquillitate carmen ibidem excusum 1543. & Basilæ apud Ioannē Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551, Idem edidit aphorismos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artuillius.

Artuillius, or Artuillius a worthe gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person bozne in Scotland, flourished, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to haue liued in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he further saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ seven hundred thre score and two, this Artuillius writ De rebus mathematicis librū vnū, ad Adelmu episcopum lib. 1.

Sedulius Junior.

Sedulius Junior being bishop of the south Scots did write Statuta concilij Romæ ad sanctum Petrum habitū, and liued in the yere of Christ seven hundred and fouretene.

Bonifacius.

Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witnesse of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scottish bloud, went to Rome, from whence by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to convert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: In qua (as saith Lesle) Thuringis, Hessis, & Austrasionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, messum longē copiosissimam collegerat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thence into Frisia, where he was martyred in the yere of Christ seven hundred fiftie and siue, who being a monke of the order of saint Benet, did write; Epistoliarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib. 1.

Ioannes Mailrose.

Ioannes Mailrose whom Gesnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all diuine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the first of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Ross, and also flourished in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourescore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Græke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Denis into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de san-

cto Victore, a most notable diuine: Shortlie after which, the said John was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulat to worthe a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had settled a perfect league betwene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie, intertained by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe scholemaster and instructor.

But Shortlie after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Palmesburie, to all such as would come to his lecture, he was by certeine scholars of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpe rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as saith Lesleus. Which John, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authority of the pope, procured to be numbred amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordeining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and doings thus writeth Gesnerus in these words: Ioannes Mailrosius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scripsit super canones Aizachelis lib. 1. Ad Carolū regē lib. 1. Versus diuersi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De naturæ diuisione lib. 1. De primo rerū principio lib. 1. De eucharistia lib. 1. Commentaria scripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditissimas lib. 1. De German. iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baleus. Idem libros Dionysij Areopagitar in Latinam linguam transtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolū magnum extat apud M. Dreff.

Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie & siue, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expressed by Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whom thus writeth Gesnerus: Kennethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, scripsit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iurifconsulti vtuntur. But in that Gesner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie serueth) that euer the English borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & haue enforced to obteine the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their superiour lords: to whom they haue done their homage, although time hath now worne the same out of vse.

Kennethus  
king of  
Scots.

Claudianus Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the disciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as saith Sixtus Senensis in bibliotheca sancta: he was verie stupious in the scriptures, & skilfull in other humane knowledges, who liuing in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verse and prose write manie learned works, whereof these are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Iosua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In psalterium. In Marthæum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangelistarum concordia, Contra Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

Claudianus  
Clemens.

Beornillus bishop of the Scots, of whom thus writeth Parker in his booke of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie: Beornillus Scotorum episcopus acerrimus verborum & sententiarum aculeis carmine scriptis, monachorum turbam laceffuit: which Beornillus was also at the counsell of Calne in Wiltshire in England, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred thre score and seuentene. For Alfritha the quene procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he should labor to haue this Beornill to be present there, which this bishop Beornill did performe, and vehementlie spake in defense of the secular priests, against the placing of monks in their houses.

Beornillus.

Leuinus

Remius.

Remius archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to haue written certaine homilies; he flourished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the peare of Christ one thousand and seven, vnder the government of Grime and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme.

Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the peare of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie peares, departing the world in the peare of Christ one thousand and fortie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slain by his owne courtiers.

Marrianus Scotus.

Marrianus Scotus so called, because that he was bozne in Scotland, was a monke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceiued all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and cruell hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the peare of Christ one thousand fortie and six, he forsooke his countrie, and first came vnto the monasterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlinesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his coming thither, had the government of the same abbey. After which, Marrianus went to Pentz, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie peares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he shortly after died, who (flourishing vnder the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leave behind him these works of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotationes scripturarum. De cyclo paschali Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolae hortatorias, obiit Moguntia, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus.

Turgotus by Gesner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verie vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrewes, who being in life in the peare of Christ one thousand fourescore and sixteene, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, or with the great head king of Scots, did write De Scotorum regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensis lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ. In which Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not anie Margaret quene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret quene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

David Scotus.

David Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe David Scotus, and next David Presbyter Scotus, this man being bozne in Scotland, was first scholemaster at Aliceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the first the emperour, of whom Auenticus abbas Vrspergensis & manie others do write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the iourneie which the emperour Henrie the first made into Italie after the pacification had betwene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmesburie to saie thus much of him in his first booke De regibus. At vero Henricus antiquis Cesaribus in nulla virtute deiectionior, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium subiugaturus, questionemque de inuestitura suo libito recisurus; sed iter illud ad Roman magnis excercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporis consummatum, David Scotus Banchoriensis episcopus exposuit, magis in regis gratiam quam historicum deceret acclius. He liued and pro-

lived about the peare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratum insignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotia lib. 1.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I do not as yet find anie mention in Gesner, but in John Maior and Lesleus) liued in the peare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder Dauid the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to anie diuine of his time, aswell in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set forth manie books to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Wlacio in Paris, whose monument is yet to be seene with this epitaph recited by John Maior in his memorials:

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,  
Pulvere hic tegeris docte Richarde situ:  
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotia partu,  
Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra suo.  
Nil tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec flamina paruo  
Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:  
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,  
Qua tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.  
Segnior ut lenio sceleratas mors petit edes,  
Sic propero nimis it sub pia recta gradu.*

Walter the bastard sonne of Dauid the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the vaine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholly consecrated to holie exercises and offices, being first inuened with the rich canonic of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priore of Breckham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishopricke of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was advanced to be abbat of Melrose, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laied the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simplie suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the peare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and thre, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus writteth in this sort: Gualternus Albanensis monachus scripsit de libris ecclesiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Balcan.

Thomas Liermant alias Crilston being bozne in Scotland, was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certaine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curteine) foretell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose words obtained the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fatal date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the peare one thousand two hundred fourescore and thre. He wrote Prædictiones rerum Scotticarum rhythmicis versibus, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed Richmicus, or the Rimer, liuing some yeres after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to flourish in the peare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six.

Epiphanius

Michael  
Spedicus.

Michael Spedicus, being a learned man in all philosophy, astronomie, and the other mathematicas, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twise mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I manie times find in his Bibliotheca, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flourished in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290, being an old man, he wrote In gratia Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphaera lib. 1. In Aristotelis meteoris lib. 4. De constitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De celo & mundo lib. 2. De somno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De substantia orbis lib. 1. De sensu & sensato lib. 2. De memoria & reminiscencia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteoris lib. 1. Imagines astronomicas lib. 2. Astrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Aristotelis lib. 10. De signis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De physiognomia lib. 1. Abbreviationes Auicennae lib. 1. De animalibus ad Casarem lib. 1. whose booke of physiognomie was printed at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptista Sella.

John Duns.

John Duns by some called Iohannes Scotus, and feared the subtil doctor, was so surnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minours brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time not long after was there not anye vniuersitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a house of their profession, in which this Duns at length took the habit and order of the Franciscans, prouing of a most singular wit, whereby he became a sharpe and subtil disputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minours, where when he had for some space remained, and read vnto them of scholasticall matters, he traueled to Cullen, and there vntimely died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283, of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as saith Lelleus lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotists or Scotists as all they of an other faction are surnamed Thomists or the Thomists, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in derision, to call such a person as is senselesse or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a foole: although trulie the same cannot stand with anye reason, this man Duns being so famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after shall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not unfit to set downe what other haue written touching him, with both the English, the Irish, and the Scots, do challenge him to be their countreiman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore writeth Stanihurst in his description of Ireland vnder the title of the Irish writers. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith, that he was borne in England. So that there shall be as great contention rise of him as in old time there rose of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Chians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminitians aduouched that he was their countreiman. But the Smirniensians were so stiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no name in the matter, and thereupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countreiman so euer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound cleark. The onelie fault wherewith he was dished,

was a little spice of vainglorie, being giuen to carpe and fault his predecessour diuines, rather for blenching the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Thus much Stanihurst. Now the booke which he wrote were these. Super sententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Commentarios Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. In metaphysica quaestione lib. 1. 2. Quaestiones vniuersaliu li. 2. Quaestiones praedicamentoru lib. 1. In analytica posteriora lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In Categorias eudem lib. 1. Lecturam in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisienses. Tetragrammatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whose works thus further writeth Gesn. Iohanni Scoti sententiarum interpreti primam sacratissimi Dionysij translationem ascribunt, cum alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoti (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninetie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui istu multis saeculis antecessit, & Athanis Graece didicit, accepta referri debeat. Of the death of this man sae Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 1. 1. De honesta vita, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of S. Denis out of Greeke into Latine.

Thomas Warreic or Warraie flourished at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the second of that name king of Scots, at what time the English were put to the worst. This man vpon this victorie did compose manie things in Latine rime beginning in this sort:

*Musa refert fatum fore scriptum carmine datum.*

Who being maister and ruler of Westwallie, is not greatlie esteemed of the Scottish historiographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetie, which is almost a hundred yeares before that, in which the histories of Scotland make any mention of him.

William Elphinstone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but because I do find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, set downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Gesnerus. I will saie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim set downe the words of the same author in this sort. Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotus, Albonensis episcopus, scripsit antiquitates Scotorum, & consiliorum statuta librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valde Bostonus Buriensis in magno scriptorum catalogo, ob singularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Gesnerus.

James Stewart the first of the name of James, being brought vp in England as a person estranged from his native soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue bene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was John Stewart, and not James. This man in the time whylest he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countrie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirtieth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six.

Iohannes Maior borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta doth (not rightlie) call an Englishman, was brought vp in Oxford, where attaining to sufficient learning, he went into France for the obtaining further knowledge

Thomas  
Warreic.William  
Elphinstone.

James Stewart.

ledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne workes. He was borne at Haddington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Haddingtonensis, he did write Decisiones sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Matthæum, Historiarum maioris Britannia lib. 6. Caxtonum Anglum transtulit lib. 7. He flozished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred & twentie, under James the first king of Scots, unto whome he dedicated his flozie of Britaine, containing England and Scotland. There is one John Maior bouché and aledged in Crisopasso Ioan. Eccij, which I doe take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible doth speake of one John Maior in this manner: Iohannes Maior Angelus scripsit in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam, and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Maior himselfe wherein he should liue. Of which Maior Buchanan hath verie scoffinglie set downe these foure verses here under written as followeth:

*Cum lateat nūq̄ solo cognomine Maior,  
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,  
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat,  
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.*

William Gregorie.

William Gregorie borne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed diuinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and seven. He left manie books behind him which he had carefullie and learnedlie written, whereof these are the titles: De duplici potestate lib. 1. Elucidationes sententiarum lib. 4. Questiones vespérales lib. 1. In politica Aristotelis lib. 8. De triplici animæ potentia lib. 1. De regno Christi æterno lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De scripturæ sensibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulare theologicū lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De disciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De sacra synaxi lib. 1. In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boetius.

Hector Boetius of Dundee in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scottish historie. He flozished in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and six, under James the first king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but set downe Gesnerus words: Hector Boetius Deidona-tus, natione Scotus, scripsit catalogum regum Scotia. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib. 1. Historias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonensium pontificum vitas, eius historiarum Scotorum excusæ sunt Parisijs, anno 1556: earundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiarum libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Accessit & huic æditioni eiusdem Scotorum historiarum continuatio per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedemontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita fol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580.

Gawine Douglas.

Gawine Douglas, borne of the noble house of the Douglasses in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betwene him and the gouernor of Scotland, forsooke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and one, in the

time of James the first of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comedias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scotticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrium sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12.

David Lindsay of the mount of hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his workes written in his owne tong in verse, which were Acta sui temporis lib. 1. De mundi miserijs lib. 1. Tragedia Davidis Beton lib. 1. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of David Beton cardinal be not all one) Testamentum psitacil lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientia lib. 1. Somnium Davidis Lindsei lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginae Magdalene lib. 1. Of most of which his workes Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he flozished in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred and fortie, in the time of James the first king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindsay was brought up, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court.

Patrick Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephew of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lesus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenenis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heresike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of James the first of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse bookes, amongst which were these, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Johannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Cusdan Apozhet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebaking apologie which contained one booke; besides which also he did write another booke Contra Antiscotiton of this Apozhet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie under James the first.

John Bellenden or Ballentine, who flozished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, under king James the first, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scottish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Mowran being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechismus fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots.

John Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, being the first yere of Marie quene of Scots, did applie his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Selmo duke of Summerset protector of England.

John Mackbeth called in Latine Ioannes Machabæus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie; who flozishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fiftie, being the eight yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots, did compose, De vera & falsa ecclesia lib. 1.

John Mackenzie borne in Scotland, did flourish in Germanie in the yere that the word became flesh.

Patrick Hamilton.

Johannes Altus.

John Bellenden.

John Mowran.

John Herrison.

John Mackbeth.

John Mackenzie.

deſth one thouſand ſiue hundred ſittie and eight, be-  
ing the ſixteenth yere of the reigne of Marie queene  
of Scots. This man, whome Geſnerus ſuppoſeth  
might fortune to be the ſame John Pakleth before  
touch'd, did write Anglorum eccleſiæ originem &  
progreſſum lib. 1. Explicationem ſuæ fidei lib. 1.

George Buc-  
chanan.

George Buchanan an Iriſh Scot, greatly lear-  
ned, but manie times maliciouſly affected, and that  
ſo vehemently, as that he would not forbear in the  
higheſt degree of malice to vpheld and backbite e-  
uerie perſon and nation which had offended him, as  
maie appeare by his immodest ſpeeches, not beſe-  
ming a man of his learning, was ſcholemaſter to  
James the ſirſt of that name king of Scotland, of  
whom living in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand ſiue  
hundred thre ſcore and ninetyne, I will forbear to  
ſaie what I could, leaſt I might offend in that which  
I miſlike in him, & therefore will onlie ſet down what  
Geſner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus  
Scotus rudimenta grāmatics Latinæ Thomæ Lina-  
cri ex Anglico ſermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicol.  
Brilingerus impreſſit Baſiliæ anno 1542. extant eius  
& elegantiffima poemata: Iephtes tragedia, Lutetia  
apud Vaſcofanum. Franciſcanus & fratres, quibus ac-  
ceſſerunt varia eiufdem & aliorum poemata, Baſiliæ  
apud Guarcinum an. 1568. Eiufdem pſalimorum pa-  
raphraſis poetica, Genevæ, Argentina, Antuerpiæ  
impreſſa in 8 & 16. eiufdem Baptiſtes ſiue calumnia  
tragedia, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelum. De iure reg-  
ni apud Scotos editio ſecunda, Edinburgi 1580.  
Pſalmi Davidis ab eodem verſibus expreſſi nunc  
primū modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino de-  
cantati Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholaſticarū hiſto-  
ria lib. 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knokeſ

John Knokeſ borne in Scotland, a great enemy  
to the Romane religion, was ſometime remaining  
in England as baniſhed from Scotland, after be-  
ing returned home he preached at the coronation of  
Charles James, the ſirſt of that name king of Scot-  
land, and wrote manie bookes in the Scottiſh Eng-  
liſh, amongſt which were Ad Londonienſes & alios  
lib. 1. Ad euangelii profeſſores lib. 2. Qualiter fit o-  
randum lib. 1. Contra miſſam paſtiſticam lib. 1. Do-  
ctrina miſſalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistiæ epiſtola 1.  
Ad eccleſias afflictas epiſt. 1. Ad Scotiæ reginam Ma-  
riam epiſt. 1. Concilium in his anguſtiis epiſt. 1. Buc-  
cinæ aſſatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a ſentē-  
tia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiæ libri vnum. He  
lived in the yere of Chriſt 1569.

John Langeie

John Langeie a Scot borne, following his studie  
in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who living  
in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand ſiue hundred thre  
ſcore and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine,  
and death of Martin Luther and John Calvin, and  
of manie other miniſters of the new goſpell (as he  
ſcornefully termed it) which bookes were out of  
French turned into Latine, and laſtelie into the  
Germane tongue, printed in 4 at Ingelſtade in the  
yere of Chriſt one thouſand ſiue hundred ſoure ſcore  
and two.

John Durie.

Iohannes Duræus or Durie, whom Geſner cal-  
leth Bureus, being borne in Dumfermling, and the  
ſon before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumferm-  
ling brother to the lord of Durie, was brought up  
in Paris and Rouan, after which he became a prieſt,  
and then a Jeſuit, who now living did in the yere of  
Chriſt one thouſand ſiue hundred ſoure ſcore and  
four, write a booke which was intituled Conſutatio  
reſponſionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem  
quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Jeſuita  
certamen Anglicanæ eccleſiæ miniſtris obtulit in  
cauſa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8  
by Thomas Brunellus, In clauſo Brunello ſub  
ſigno oliuæ.

Patrick Adam-  
ſon.

Patrick Adamſon living in the yere of Chriſt  
one thouſand ſiue hundred thre ſcore and thirtene,  
did write certaine verſes, whereof this was the title

and effect, as hath Geſnerus, Patricii Adamſoni gra-  
tiarum actio illuſtriſſ. & potentiff. principi Eliza-  
bethæ Angl. Franc. & Hiberniæ reginæ, propter libe-  
ratam ciuili ſeditione Scotiam, & redactam munici-  
ſimam Edinburgi arcem ſub fidem regis carmen e-  
legiacum, which man being now living, is archbiſhop  
of ſaint Andrews.

Patrick Cockburne borne in Scotland, and flour-  
iſhing in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand ſiue hun-  
dred & ſittie, in the time of Marie queene of Scots,  
did write, De vtilitate & excellentia verbi Dei, which  
was printed at Paris by Michael ſezandate, and  
Robert Graſon, in the yere of our Lord one thou-  
ſand ſiue hundred ſittie and one. He wrote alſo De  
vulgari ſacræ ſcripturæ phraſi, lib. 2. whereof the firſt  
doth intreat of the ſinne againſt the Holie-ghoſt,  
which they call irremittable or vnto death: the ſe-  
cond booke doth with great diligence and fidelitie  
vntold the moſt hard and moſt obſcure places of  
both the teſtaments, hitherto by manie euillie vn-  
derſtood, and woſe interpreted: which booke was  
printed at Paris by Robert Peſſiline in the yere of  
our Lord one thouſand ſiue hundred ſittie and two  
in 8 chart, 13.

Patrick  
Cockburne,

John Leſle ſometime officiall of Aberdeen, and  
biſhop of Roſſe, of whom I haue ſpoken in the con-  
tinuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obſti-  
nate fauorizer and furtherer of the Romane religion  
doth yet live in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand ſiue  
hundred eightie & ſir, in the time of Charles James  
the ſirſt king of Scots, and hath written Pii afflictī a-  
nimi conſolationes diuinæque remedia lib. 1. Animi  
tranquilli monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus,  
& rebus geſtis Scotorum lib. 10. printed at Rome.

John Leſle.

Ninianus Winzetus, who flouriſhed in the yere  
of our Lord one thouſand ſiue hundred thre ſcore  
and one, in the time of Marie queene of Scots, was  
a fauorizer of the popes doctrine, and enemy to John  
Knokeſ, touching whom I will ſet down the two:ts  
of two ſeueral authors, whereof the one is Leſſeus  
a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is  
Bibliotheca Geſneri, whereof the firſt ſaith: Hæc res  
(which was a diſputation in religion) Niniano Win-  
zeto maximam apud hæreticos inuidiam conſla-  
uit, vnde cum audirent illum (Ninian Winzet) iam  
apud typographum calcre in libro excudendo, quo  
cogitaret cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem  
expoſtulare, conſilium ineunt de opere diſturbando,  
Winzeto capiendo, typographo mulctando. Magi-  
ſtratus cum ſatellitibus inuit in typographiam, libros  
quos reperit, auferit, Iohan. Scoti typographi bonis  
mulctatum in carcerem abripit: ſed Winzetum, quē  
tantopere cupiebant, præ foribus magiſtratu occu-  
rentem quod incognitus clapſus fuerat, dolent hære-  
tici, ædent Catholici. On the other ſide thus writeth  
Bibliotheca Geſneri: Ninianus Winzetus Renſious,  
S. theologiæ doctör, & apud ſancti Iacobi apud Sco-  
tos Ratiſponæ, abbas flagellum ſectariorum qui reli-  
gionis prætextu iam in Cæſarē aut in alios orthodox-  
os principes excitare ſtudent, quærentes ineptiffimē  
quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus ſit obediendū.  
Accellit velitatio in Georg. Buchan. circa dialogū,  
quem ſcripſit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolſtadii  
ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Ninianus  
Winzetus.

Adam Blackwood borne in Scotland in Dum-  
fermling, was brought up in Paris, where attein-  
ing to manie degrees of learning, is now living,  
being advanced to the place of one of the chiefe coun-  
ſellores of Poitiers. This man hath learnedly writ-  
ten manie works, amongſt which are his bookes De  
coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres oratio-  
nes admeralli regni Franciæ, & Iacobi Stuarti primi  
regentis (after that Charles James the ſirſt, attained  
to the crowne) Scotiæ. Beſides which having writ-  
ten againſt the work of Buchanan intituled De iure  
regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth  
againſt the chronicle of the ſame Buchanan.

Adam Black-  
wood.

Andrew Meluin one of the preſbyterie in Scot. Andrew  
Meluin.



land, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fourscore and foure, hath written manie epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuective against the quene mother, to the king of France, which beginneth *Vipera cum catulis*.

James Erie.

James Erie did (as hath Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who comming to Paris, trauelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Calvin; he florished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and one, vnder Marie quene of Scots, and did write *Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responso ad Knoxium lib. 1.*

Charles James.

Charles James the first of that name king of Scots now liuing, a toward yong prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his yongest yeares about the age of seuentene or eightene, write a booke of verses in his mother tong, containing manie matters of sundrie rare inuentions, and of sundrie forme of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close vp the same title with no lesse honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it vp with a king.

Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit) I desire the reader to take it in good part, remembering that *Ultra posse non est esse*, sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his upper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing ante more subiect therupon to worke, I can doe no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that In magnis voluisse sat est; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy favorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed befoze I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of ante of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue done maie well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter vpon more lesure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine (*Ab sit verbis philautia*) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I maie seeme to be idle, yet I saie with *Scipio*, *Nunquam minus sum otiosus quam cum sum otiosus*.

*Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.*

